PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME X JULY, 1931 NUMBER 3

EMERSON AND SCIENCE

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Although books have been written on many important influences on Emerson, such as Platonism, Orientalism, Romanticism, and German Transcendentalism, the exact extent of his debt to science, which he regarded as a "controlling influence of the times,"[1] awaits exhaustive[2] investigation. This study, then, will consider but a limited phase of this influence: the extent, namely, to which Emerson's interest in science helped to motivate, during his formative years up to 1838, his turn against ecclesiasticism and an

[1] Emerson's *Complete Works*, Centenary Edition (hereafter referred to as *Wks.*) VIII, 211. In relation to the question whether Emerson himself acknowledged influences, it may be relevant to recall that he said, "No great men are original. . . The greatest genius is the most indebted man. . . A great man . . . finds himself in the river of the thoughts and events, forced onward by the ideas and necessities of his contemporaries." (*Wks.*, IV, 189 ff.) "I am an aggregate of infinitestimal parts, and . . . every minutest streamlet that has flowed to me is represented in that man which I am" (*Journals*—hereafter referred to as *J.*,—III, 381).

[2] Most of the biographies and critical studies touch upon the subject, although in a manner generally indefinite. E. D. Mead, in "Emerson and the Philosophy of Evolution" (*The Princeton Review*, Vol. 63, 231-256, Nov. 1884) writes appreciatively but makes slight attempt to deal fully either with the detailed sources of Emerson's knowledge or with the exact relation of scientific concepts to specific Emersonian doctrines. Harriett C. B. Alexander (*Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 54, 555-56, Feb. 1889) wrote a letter of a page-and-a-half defending Emerson as an evolutionist against a clergyman's interpretation, and she treated the subject "Tyndall and Emerson" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Vol. 73, 281 ff., Feb. 1889). Moncure D. Conway, in "The Evolution of Evolution" (*Open Court*, Vol. XI, 499 ff.), deals enthusiastically in two or three pages with Emerson as an evolutionist, stressing mainly the vexed question of the influence of John Hunter; Conway also dealt with the matter in *Emerson at Home and Abroad* (154-161). John Burroughs (*Indoor Studies*, Boston, 1899, 73-77) illustrates briefly his assertion that "no other imaginative writer has been so stimulated and aroused by the astounding discoveries of physics," that "there is hardly a fundamental principle of science that he has not turned to ideal uses." Emerson's son, in his "Biographical Sketch" prefacing the Centenary Edition (*Wks.*, I, xxvi-xxx) devotes four or five pages to the poet's faith in evolution, listing eight "steps . . . by which his beliefs were reached" and he appended valuable notes to each essay.

antiquarian devotion to the past, and, concurrently, his turn toward a faith in a relatively depersonalized Over-Soul, perhaps best defined as a "beneficent tendency"[3] or "conscious,"[4] "animated law."[5] In considering the influence of science on Emerson two general cautions must be borne constantly in mind. In the first place, one must not be led astray by his recurrent theme that "empirical science is apt to cloud the sight,"[6] that "all the facts in natural history taken by themselves, have no value,"[7] for he prizes science not so much for its mere description of phenomena or for its advancement of our physical well-being as for its ethical symbolism: "The axioms of physics translate the laws of ethics."[8] Indeed, an interesting study could be made of the way in which Emerson derived, in various degrees, his fundamental doctrine of the correspondence and analogy between matter and mind, natural history and human history, from such sources as Butler's *Analogy*,[9]

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[3] *Wks.*, IV, 185-86.

[4] *Ibid.*, IX, 59. "Conscious Law is King of kings." Emerson's early *Journals* often refer to a personal God, and he occasionally dwelt later on the mystery of the initial creation and "that famous aboriginal push" (*Wks.*, III, 184; IX, 58).

[5] *Wks.*, IX, 315. In the poem entitled "The Poet," which his son says was "begun as early as 1838, probably earlier" (*Wks.*, IX, 500).

[6] *Wks.*, I, 66.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 28.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 33. See also *Wks.*, I, 39; 87; VIII, 8.

[9] Bishop Butler's *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736) endeavored to refute Hobbes' theory that selfishness is the main-spring of conduct by arguing that man is adapted to virtue as evidenced by the "analogy" between purposeful systems in man and in nature. If the world embodies "a scheme in which laws are made use of to accomplish ends, and which is carried on by general laws," a disregard for these general laws, for a super-rational beneficent tendency in the world, blinds men to the fact that particular cases of selfishness and evil may be consistent with, because fragmentary or compensatory in relation to, the enduring "wisdom, justice, and goodness of the constitution of nature." In this larger system, nature and morality are so paralleled that, according to Butler, "it is highly probable that the first is formed and carried on merely in subserviency to the latter." In Emerson's Bowdoin Prize Dissertation of 1821, entitled "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy," Butler appears among those "qualified to institute and methodize the science of morality," and doubtless he encouraged Emerson's conclusion that in ascertaining the divine will it "is judged safer to reason from *adaptation* and *analogy*," for after reading Butler's *Analogy* (*J.*, II, 35, 143, 226), he thought it "the business of the preacher" simply to "exhibit the analogies between moral and material nature in such a manner as to have a bearing upon practice," (*J.*, II, 241-42) and he refers to Butler as one of "the great men of the world, the teachers of the race." It is perhaps significant that the substance of the later essay "Compensation" appears in the *Journals* of 1826 (II, 70-78) in connection with Emerson's praise of Butler's *Analogy* and its doctrine of a "most exact and benign

Paley's *Natural Theology*,[10] Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*,[11] Newton (whose theory of the centrality of matter in accordance with the law of gravity suggested Emerson's theory of ethical centrality),[12] Plato (whose "celestial geometry" "affirms the coincidence of science and virtue"),[13] Coleridge,[14] Bacon,[15] Swedenborg,[16] Goethe,[17] and Wordsworth.[18] The second caution is against

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adaptation." Later, Emerson said that, while engaged as a school-teacher (1821-23), "I was at that very time [while reading and praising Butler] already writing every night in my chamber my first thoughts on morals and the beautiful laws of Compensation and of individual genius, which to observe and illustrate have given sweetness to my life . . . Is not the law of Compensation perfect? . . . I have nothing charactered in my brain that outlives this word Compensation" (*Wks.*, II, 395-96).

[10] William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) popularized the mechanical theory of the universe, arguing that "contrivance must have had a contriver, design a designer" (p. 17). Taking his "stand in human anatomy," he concludes that "there is no subject of which, in its full extent, the latitude is so great, as that of natural history applied to the proof of an intelligent Creator" (p. 344). See Leslie Stephen's *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 407 ff., and II, 121 ff. As evidence of Emerson's knowledge of Paley, see, in addition to the references in the dissertation of 1821 mentioned above, *Journals*, I, 85, 174, 203; II, 35, 143, 280, 329; IX, 134. In 1824 he wrote, "Paley's deity and Calvin's deity are plainly two beings, both sublime existences, but one a friend and the other a foe to that capacity of order, to that which is made in us arbiter of things seen, the prophet of things unseen" (*J.*, II, 32).

[11] See *J.*, I, 85; II, 34; 143. Wollaston was a constructive deist, glorifying "the great law of our nature, the law of reason."

[12] Emerson's knowledge of, and debt to, Newton will be treated shortly. On the point mentioned above, see *Wks.*, VIII, 221-23.

[13] *Wks.*, IV, 83-84. On the influence of Plato upon Emerson see J. S. Harrison, *The Teachers of Emerson*, N. Y., 1910.

[14] Coleridge's *The Friend*, which Emerson read and praised as early as 1829 (J. E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston, 1887, I, 161) contains, according to Harrison, (*op. cit.*, 22) "a scientific method of thought which was built partly on the philosophy of Plato and partly on the teaching of Bacon," which may have helped to suggest Emerson's fundamental doctrine of the correlation of mind and matter. See F. T. Thompson, "Emerson's Debt to Coleridge," (*Studies in Philology*, XXIII) especially pp. 57, 64, and 74.

[15] Probably at Coleridge's suggestion (*The Friend*, Shedd's edition, p. 8), Emerson found (*Advancement of Learning*, Montagu's edition, p. 126) and praised Bacon's "profitable observations" of parallelisms between science and ethics. See Emerson's *Wks.*, V, 240, and especially IV, 117: "Lord Bacon had found that truth and nature differed only as seal and print; and he instanced some physical propositions, with their translation into a moral or political sense." See also *J.*, IV, 118-19.

[16] See "Swedenborg; or, the Mystic" (*Wks.*, IV, 93-146), where Emerson quotes with approval Swedenborg's "doctrine of Correspondence" according to which "the physical world was purely symbolical of the spiritual world" (p. 116). Emerson notes that of Swedenborg's "fifty stout octavos" his scientific works were "about half the whole number." He asserts that Swedenborg's *Animal Kingdom*, "a book of wonderful merits," was "written with the highest end,—to put science and the soul, long estranged from each other,

considering Emerson an inductive scientist. Deeply ethical and religious, imbued with both the classical and the Christian spirit, Emerson approaches natural history with a method essentially *a priori*, ethical, and deductive, like that of Plato,[19] Schelling, Goethe, Kant,[20] and Coleridge. Indeed, as Burroughs[21] remarked, "Emer-

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at one again. It was an anatomist's account of the human body, in the highest style of poetry." Emerson became interested in Swedenborg, through Sampson Reed, in 1826 (*J.*, II, 116), although his greater interest doubtless dates from 1829 (*J.*, II, 267-68). On the whole subject see Clarence Hotson, "Sampson Reed, A Teacher of Emerson," *New England Quarterly*, April, 1929; "Emerson and the Swedenborgions," *Studies in Philology*, July, 1930; "Emerson and Swedenborg," *The New-Church Messenger*, Oct., 1930.

[17] "No man of letters," said John Burroughs, "was ever more hospitable to science than Goethe . . . His whole interest in physics was a search for a truth above physics,—to get nearer, if possible, to the mystery called nature. 'The understanding will not reach her,' he said to Eckermann; 'man must be capable of elevating himself to the highest reason to come in contact with his divinity which manifests itself in the primitive phenomena, which dwells behind them, and from which they proceed' " (*Indoor Studies*, 59-60). According to F. B. Wahr (*Emerson and Goethe*, Michigan, 1915, p. 73) Emerson's "years 1834-40 mark his most active interest in Goethe as a poet and man," and we know that he thought highly of Goethe as a poet of science (*Wks.*, IV, 287; X, 338). For Emerson's translation and praise of Goethe's doctrine of analogy see *J.*, IV, 28.

[18] Wordsworth disliked the blindly analytical and materialistic scientist as one who would "peep and botanize upon his mother's grave," just as Emerson disliked the "mere insect hunter" (*J.*, III, 293). But Wordsworth, like Emerson, exalted science vitalized by poetic insight. Emerson acquainted himself with *The Excursion* before he was eighteen (*J.*, I, 85) and he must have been impressed with the passage (*Bk.*, IV, 11.1251-63) prophesying that science will cease to be "chained to its object in brute slavery" and will furnish "clear guidance," its "most noble use." Elsewhere Wordsworth said, "If the time should ever come when that which is now called science shall be ready to put on, as it were a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transformation and will welcome the Being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man." On the general relations of Emerson and Wordsworth see John B. Moore, "Emerson and Wordsworth," (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLI, 179-192); F. T. Thompson, "Emerson's Theory and Practice of Poetry," (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLIII, 1170 ff.); and Annabel Newton, "Wordsworth in Early American Criticism," (University of Chicago Press, 1928). On "Wordsworth's Relation to Science," see E. Legouis, *The Early Life of William Wordsworth*, N. Y. 1897, pp. 397-418. It is to be hoped that an excellent treatment of this subject by Professor Arthur Beatty will be published shortly. For Wordsworth's theory of "how exquisitely . . . the world is fitted to the mind" see *The Recluse*, l. 815ff.

[19] In *Nature* (*Wks.*, I, 55) Emerson says, " 'The problem of philosophy,' according to Plato, 'is, for all that exists conditionally, to find a ground unconditioned and absolute.' It proceeds on the faith that a law determines all phenomena, which being known, the phenomena can be predicted. That law, when in the mind, is an idea." It appears (Harrison, *op. cit.*, 42) that Emerson found this quotation from Plato in Coleridge's *The Friend* (Shedd's edition of Coleridge's *Complete Works*, II, 420-22) which expanded the general theme.

[20] It should be remembered that Emerson's study of natural history in the light of pre-conceived abstract laws was also encouraged by Kantian trans-

son went through the cabinet of the scientist as one goes through a book-stall to find an odd volume to complete a set. . . . He took what suited him." In short, as an idealist, Emerson affirmed that "the sensual man conforms thoughts to things; the poet conforms things to his thoughts."[22] He treats "things as they are in the eye of God," and "not in the eye of man."[23] If science was always of secondary interest to Emerson, this fact should not prevent us from recognizing the important function of science in suggesting novel *reinforcement* for views which were primarily, I think, native, Christian, classical, Oriental, romantic, or transcendental. For he recognized very early that his "own time" was "the era of science,"[24] that "one of the distinctions of our century has been the devotion of cultivated men to natural science," and that "the benefits thence derived to the arts and to civilization are signal and immense."[25] His knowledge of scientific thought was much greater than that of contemporary poets such as Tennyson and Browning, and his interest extended throughout his long life-time. At seventeen, he said, "With regard then to the study of Natural Philosophy, I do not think any one study so contributes

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cendentalism. As Emerson explained in 1842, "Transcendentalism . . . is Idealism." "The Idealist . . . does not deny the sensuous fact: by no means; but he will not see that alone." "The Idealist takes his departure from his consciousness, and reckons the world an appearance." He values external reality as "illustrating with wonderful fidelity of details the laws of being." "The Idealism of the present day acquired the name Transcendental from the use of that term by Immanuel Kant, of Königsberg, who replied to the skeptical philosophy of Locke, which insisted that there was nothing in the intellect which was not previously in the experience of the senses, by showing that there was a very important class of ideas or imperative forms, which did not come by experience, but through which experience was acquired; that these were intuitions of the mind itself; and that he denominated them *Transcendental* forms" ("The Transcendentalist," *Wks.*, I, 329-340). See also Carlyle's exposition of Transcendentalism in his "Novalis" (1829), with which Emerson was doubtless familiar. It must be borne in mind that many of the doctrines of German Transcendentalism were rendered available to Emerson in the works of Coleridge and Carlyle. On the whole subject see O. B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England. A History*, N. Y., 1876, and H. C. Goddard, *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, N. Y., 1908.

[21] *Op. cit.*, 74.

[22] *Wks.*, I, 52. See also *Wks.*, III, 183: "Man carries the world in his head, the whole of astronomy and chemistry suspended in a thought . . . Every known fact in natural science was divined by somebody, before it was actually verified."

[23] *J.*, II, 395.

[24] Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 712.

[25] *Wks.*, VIII, 220-21.

to expand the mind as our first correct notions of this science."[26] At the age of sixty-nine, he confessed, "if absolute leisure were offered me, I should run to the college or the scientific school which offered the best lectures on Geology, Chemistry, Minerals, Botany. . ."[27] Indeed, in many respects his last lectures on the *Natural History of the Intellect* are but elaborations of his first book, *Nature.*

Although Emerson's interest in science was rather broad, it appears that Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Laplace, Newton, Kant, the Herschels, and Mary Somerville attracted him especially toward astronomy. These were "the shepherds of the stars,"—in Herschel's phrase—and they impressed him with one great concept: the concept of *law.*[28] Since "the term astronomy itself denotes the *law* or rule of the *astra,*"[29] no wonder, devoted as he was to astronomy, that he saw over-arching all "the sky of law." No wonder he had begun his first book, his "little azure-colored *Nature,*" by saying, "If a man would be alone, let him look at the stars. . . . One might think the atmosphere was made transparent with the design, to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the presence of the sublime."[30] As early as 1829, in praising Coleridge, he had compared "astronomy with the other sciences" as "taking post at the centre."[31] Later, speaking retrospectively of his youth, he mentioned other factors,[32] but he concluded, "I think the paramount source of the religious revolution was Modern Science; beginning with Copernicus, who destroyed the pagan fictions of the Church, . . . Astronomy . . . showed that our sacred history as our profane history had been written in gross ignorance of the laws, which were far grander than we know; and compelled a certain extension and uplifting of our views of the Deity and his Providence." Although there are still those who think "Emerson's

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[26] *J.*, I, 59-60.

[27] *J.*, X, 393.

[28] One should bear in mind the implications of the contrast between the religious concept of immutable law and that of the Puritans' faith in fickle and capricious "illustrious providences."

[29] J. F. W. Herschel, *A Treatise on Astronomy,* Philadelphia, 1834, p. 15.

[30] *Wks.*, I, 7.

[31] Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 161.

[32] These were Arminianism, the English philosophic followers of Locke such as Hartley and Priestley, the Swedenborgians, the Unitarians, and the "new morning" which dawned with German influence (*Wks.*, X, 335-36).

power lay not in his doctrine but in his temperament,"[33] who profess to be unable to "tell us what he means"[34] because it "cannot be exactly defined,"[35] Emerson very early pleaded for "a science of morals"[36] and asserted, "we want the Copernicus of our inward heaven." As a young man he was familiar[37] with Kepler's laws of planetary motion which "served as the foundation of Newton's astronomy,"[38] and recognized their discovery as one of the "eminent experiences" of the race.[39] "None compare with Kepler,"[40] who would think God's thoughts after him and trace the motion of the planets to a Constant Divine Cause. If "as an astronomer, Galileo's fame rests on his construction and application of the telescope, and the confirmatory evidence he thus gave to the Copernican system,"[41] Emerson was acquainted with his achievements through his reading in 1832 of *The Life of Galileo.*[42] While reading Galileo, and other astronomers, shortly before his resignation from the church, Emerson was pondering, in connection with astronomical laws, the subject of "Spiritual Laws," and part of the essay by that name was written at this time.[43]

Much more influential on Emerson, however, than Copernicus, Kepler, or Galileo, was Newton, whose "discovery of the law of gravitation, and his application of it to the explanation of Kepler's laws of planetary motion . . . made him the founder of the science

[33] George Santayana, *Poetry and Religion*, p. 218.

[34] Henry A. Beers, *Points of View*, N. Y. 1904.

[35] C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, N. Y., 1927. 197.

[36] E. E. Hale, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Together with Two Early Essays of Emerson), Boston, 1904. p. 109. The date of the essay in 1821.

[37] As we shall see shortly, Emerson read J. F. W. Herschel's *A Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* and *A Treatise on Astronomy* before 1834. The first discusses the nature of Kepler's laws of the planetary system (p. 134 ff.) and their relation to the Newtonian system. The second pays tribute to Kepler as the first who ascertained the elliptic form of the earth's orbit (p. 179), and discusses his laws and their interpretation (p. 250 ff.).

[38] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *A History of Science and its Relations with Philosophy and Religion*, N. Y., 1929. 139 ff.

[39] *J.*, VII, 68. Among Emerson's later respectful references to Kepler see *Wks.*, X, 270; XI, 505-06; *J.*, VI, 143-45. The latter reference is to Emerson's quotation from Barchon de Penhoen's *History of German Philosophy from Leibnitz to Hegel*: "Kepler's science was a strange alliance of that sublime science of antiquity which proceeded by inspiration with that modern science which measures, compares, analyses." See also *J.*, IV, 222.

[40] *J.*, X, 204.

[41] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.*, 142.

[42] *J.*, II, 466-67. The Life was that in the "Library of Useful Knowledge."

[43] *J.*, II, 465-66.

of gravitational astronomy.''[44] In common with earlier poets such as James Thomson, Albrecht Von Haller, and to some extent Wordsworth,[45] the youthful Emerson seems to have sought to harmonize with Christian ethics Newton's scientific doctrines of the regularity of natural law. At twenty he was acquainted[46] with Newton's *Principia,* whose publication ''marks perhaps the greatest event in the history of science,''[47] and he had in 1832 read the biographies of Newton by Maclaurin[48] and by David Brewster.[49] According to Dr. O. W. Holmes' engaging statistics,[50] there are only eight authors to whom Emerson refers more often than to Newton. At nineteen he wrote, ''After the primitive apostles, I apprehend that Christianity is indebted to those who have established the grounds upon which it rests; to Clarke, Butler, and Paley; to Sherlock, and to the incomparable Newton.''[51] He had read Newton's description of himself as ''like a boy playing on the seashore . . . while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me,''[52] and he concluded that ''the piety of Newton is inestimable.''[53] For the great scientist had ended the second edition of the *Principia* on the theme that ''this most beautiful System of the Sun, Planets, and Comets could only proceed from the counsel and domination of an intelligent and powerful Being,''[54] who ''is everywhere present.'' He is not only the designer and starter of the machine, but he is also immanent in nature; he is one ''who, being in all Places, is more able by his will to move the Bodies within his bound-

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[44] *The Cambridge History of English Literature,* VIII, 413.

[45] See Herbert Drennon, *James Thomson and Newtonianism,* Chicago University Press, 1930; Howard Mumford Jones, ''Albrecht Von Haller and English Philosophy,'' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.,* XL, 103-127; and S. G. Dunn, ''Newton and Wordsworth,'' *London Times Literary Supplement,* Aug. 25, 1927. G. S. Brett, *Sir Isaac Newton,* Baltimore, 1928, 269, treats Newton's ''severe rationalism'' as opening the way ''for a liberal Christianity which might ultimately supersede traditional beliefs.''

[46] *J.,* I, 298.

[47] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.,* 169 ff.

[48] *J.,* II, 34; I, 85.

[49] *J.,* II, 464; 541. Brewster was himself a pioneer in the field of optics.

[50] *The Writings of O. W. Holmes,* Boston, 1878-1906. XI, 295.

[51] *J.,* I, 174. It would be interesting to make a thorough study of the exact relation between Emerson and eighteenth century thought.

[52] Quoted by Emerson, *J.,* II, 288-89; the original passage appears in Brewster's *Life of Newton,* N. Y., 1831. 300.

[53] *J.,* II, 221.

[54] As quoted by Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.,* 188.

less uniform Sensorium, and thereby to form and reform the Parts of the Universe, than we are by our Will to move the Parts of our own Bodies.''[55] Yet if, as Emerson said, ''science, deep and high and broad as Newton's''[56] confirms ''our hold'' upon faith, if, as he said, Newton ''cleaved to the divine revelation,''[57] it is important to note that Newton's deity, in contrast to the vividly personal God of the Hebrews, is ''a Being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, who, in infinite Space as in his Sensory,'' governs all things.[58] In addition, however, to the idea of universal law and of a deity as ''a Being incorporeal,'' Newton may have suggested reinforcement for Emerson's doctrine of the correspondence of mind and matter. For, as John Fiske[59] remarked, the work of Newton ''was the first stage, and a very long one, toward proving that the terrestrial and celestial worlds are dynamically akin, that the same kind of order prevails through both alike, that both are parts of one cosmic whole.'' Thus the ''great principle of Undulation in nature'' supports the doctrine of *The American Scholar* that ''the ancient precept, 'Know Thyself,' and the modern precept, 'Study nature,' become at last one maxim,''[60] for ''these 'fits of easy transmission and reflection,' as Newton called them, are the law of nature because they are the law of spirit.''[61] Later, Emerson said that when Newton ''saw in the fall of an apple to the ground the fall of the earth to the sun, of the sun and all

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[55] *Opticks*, Third Edition, 379.

[56] *J.*, I, 325.

[57] *J.*, I, 241. Emerson found in Brewster's *Life of Newton* (p. 301 ff.) a discussion of Newton's interest in religion and in religious toleration. Brewster concludes, that Newton was ''a firm believer in revelation.''

[58] *Opticks*, Query 28. On Newton's theological beliefs see Léon Bloch, *La Philosophie de Newton*, Chapter IX. Bloch concludes that, according to Newton, ''la véritable facteur de la moralité, c'est l'intelligence des causes finales. Une fois que nous avons compris l'ordre dans l'univers, nous ne pouvons moins faire que de l'admirer, que d'y conformer nos intentions et nos actes . . . la philosophie morale n'a pas besoins d'autres principles que ceux de la science. Du moment que l'univers témoigne d'un createur parfait, la moralité devint un aspect de l'ordre universel''(p. 519-520). This doctrine of Newton that man finds salvation by conforming to the order, or law, of the universe is not altogether unlike Emerson's doctrine that the ideal man whom he prophecies ''shall not take counsel of flesh and blood, but shall rely on the Law alive and beautiful which works over our heads and under our feet. Pitiless, it avails itself of our success when we obey it, and of our ruin when we contravene it'' (*Wks.*, III, 283).

[59] John Fiske, *A Centruy of Science*, Boston, 1900, p. 8.

[60] *Wks.*, I, 87.

[61] *Ibid.*, I, 98.

suns to the centre, . . . his law was only a particular of the more universal law of centrality.[62] Every law in Nature, as gravity, centripetence, repulsion, polarity, undulation, has a counterpart in the intellect. The laws above are sisters of the laws below."[63] Indeed, it does not seem altogether fanciful to suppose that the early influence of Newton helped to motivate *The Divinity School Address.* If Newton's deity is "a Being incorporeal," Emerson's is also: "the soul knows no persons."[64] If Newton proclaims the universality of law, especially the law of gravitation, Emerson concludes his great *Address* looking "for the new Teacher that shall follow so far those shining laws that he shall see them come full circle; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy."[65]

But we have got ahead of our story, and we must retrace our steps to the year 1832. Although Cabot[66] thought that Emerson became indifferent toward "historical light" and "positive institutions" mainly through the influence of Coleridge's and Swedenborg's devotion to absolute rather than relative truth, the contemporary *Journals* seem to suggest that the immediate influence which encouraged Emerson's withdrawal from the Unitarian Old North Church in the summer of 1832 was that of writers on astronomy such as Mary Somerville, author of the *Mechanism of the Heavens,* and especially J. F. W. Herschel. It is also possible that Emerson's interest in astronomy may have been sharpened by Laplace,[67] Daniell,[68] Kant,[69] Carlyle,[70] and Humboldt.[71] The

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62 Compare *Wks.,* III, 99: "Character is centrality."

63 *Wks.,* VIII, 222; see also *J.,* X, 205-06.

64 *Wks.,* I, 130.

65 *Ibid.,* I, 151.

66 J. E. Cabot, *op. cit.,* I, 159-162.

67 Laplace (1749-1827) "completed Newton's work in one important aspect, for he proved that the planetary motions were stable" (Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.,* 192-93). Laplace's *Système du Monde* (1796) presents a history of astronomy, an account of the Newtonian system, and of the Nebular Hypothesis. His *Mécanique Céleste* (1799-1805) "translated the *Principia* into infinitestimal calculus, and completed it in many details." In 1826 Emerson named Laplace as one of the four "true *de facto* sovereigns . . . . they receive the secret and open homage of all classes, they command feelings, determinations and actions" (*J.,* II, 82). J. F. W. Herschel's *A Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy,* with which Emerson was familiar in 1832, deals with Laplace and his contributions; see pages 129, 206, 239, 242. For Emer-

greatest *immediate* influence in 1832, however, appears to have been that of Herschel. In 1832, while urging a young friend to study natural history, which is "never painful like the history of man," Emerson had especially recommended "*Mr. Brougham's Discourse Upon the Advantages and Prospects of Science,* which is excellent, and *Mr. Herschel's,* which is better. The same Mr. Herschel, son of a famous astronomer,[72] is about to publish a *Discourse on Astron-*

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son's references to Laplace see *J.*, I, 287; II, 82, 541; III, 562; 575; IV, 174; VI, 145; VII, 143; *Wks.*, II, 37.

[68] Emerson read Daniell's *Meterological Essays,* or at least they appear on his reading list, in 1832 (*J.*, II, 542).

[69] Kant was "a competent physicist" and had "a wide knowledge of the science of his time" (Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.*, 212). He had in 1755 propounded the Nebular Hypothesis, "according to which the solar system was evolved from a rotating mass of incandescent gas." He remarked in the *Critique of the Practical Reason,* "Two things fill my spirit with ever new and increasing wonder and reverence the more fixedly thought contemplates them—the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me."

[70] Carlyle disliked science which belittled the ethical quality in man, but, as John Burroughs notes, "he had studied astronomy to some purpose. The fragment left among his papers called 'Spiritual Optics,' and published by Froude in his life of him, shows what a profound interpretation and application he had given to the cardinal astronomical facts. His sense of the reign of law, his commanding perception of the justice and rectitude inherent in things, of the reality of the ideal, of the subordination of the lesser to the greater, the tyranny of mass, power, etc., have evidently all been deepened and intensified by his absorption of the main principles of this department of physical science" (*Indoor Studies,* 78). Thus, while Carlyle reacted against "the great scientific advance" which had bred "the rationalistic and skeptical thought" of the eighteenth century, (W. S. Johnson, *Thomas Carlyle,* New Haven, 1916, 93-94) he held that the highest type of work, which has "something of divineness," includes "all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all sciences." (*Past and Present,* Bk. III, Ch. XII, read and praised by Emerson in 1843—see *The Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson,* N. Y. 1883, II, 29-30). In this *Correspondence* during the early years I find no significant reference to science or astronomy, unless one counts such poetical references as that (I, 95) to "this Earth, her eye on a Sun, . . . journeying equal, sunlit, or storm-girt" through her ordained cosmic course.

[71] Emerson was early acquainted with Humboldt's *Work on America* (*J.*, I, 83), which he sought in 1821, and in 1834 (*J.*, III, 356) he wrote: "Humboldt's scientific imagination will make the mnemonics of science. I read yesterday his designation of the sudden and violent disturbances of the magnetic equilibrium as 'magnetic storms.'" Emerson was much attracted toward Humboldt's *Cosmos,* embodying his great and harmonious representation of the universe, which appeared in 1847. In Emerson's ardent address of 1869 on this incarnate "encyclopedia of science" (*Wks.*, XI, 457 ff.) he said, "A university, a whole French Academy, travelled in his shoes. . . How he reaches from science to science, from law to law, folding away moons and asteroids and solar systems in the clauses and parentheses of his encyclopedic paragraphs."

[72] Sir William Herschel's telescope had enabled him to discover Uranus, a seventh planet, in 1781. Emerson must have known the account of his great work in Brewster's *Life of Newton* (45-47).

omy, which is expected with great interest."[73] Emerson seems to have read these books eagerly.[74] J. F. W. Herschel's *A Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* deals in part[75] with the advantages of scientific study, not wholly unlike those listed by Emerson in his very first lecture;[76] with the effect of science in making "atheism ridiculous";[77] and with the way in which matter is ordained by the "Divine Author" to "obey certain laws."[78] No wonder Emerson exclaimed, "The Religion that is afraid of science dishonors God and commits suicide."[79] "For what is there in *Paradise Lost* to elevate and astonish like Herschel or Somerville?"[80] Now the crucial point to observe is that this concern with astronomy in relation to religion appears in the *Journals* at the very time when Emerson was preparing to resign from the Church unless he were permitted to dispense with "the rite of the Lord's Supper, which he found himself unable to regard as a sacrament, established by Christ, and in his name by the Church, for his followers in all ages."[81] He presented his views to the Church early in June, 1832; shortly before, on May

[73] *J.*, II, 461. The passage goes on to recommend Nuttall's *Ornithology,* and such books as *School Conversations on Chemistry* and the *Account of Polar Expeditions.* The reference is clearly to J. F. W. Herschel's *A Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy,* an edition of which was published in Philadelphia (Carey and Lea, Chestnut Street) in 1831, by the same firm which published his *Treatise on Astronomy* in 1834.

[74] See *J.*, II, 487; 941; III, 241, 194. 197; *Wks.*, I, 100; V, 40, 90; XII, 469.

[75] Pp. 33-35.

[76] See J. E. Cabot's digest (II, 711) of Emerson's "Introductory Lecture Before the Boston Society of Natural History," Nov. 4, 1833. As "Specific advantages of the pursuit," Emerson lists: 1. To health; 2. In the discovery of economic uses. 3. The generous enthusiasm it generates. 4. Improvement of mind and character through habits of exact thought. 5. The highest office, to explain man to himself,—or that correspondence of the outward with the inward world, by which it is fitted to represent what we think."

[77] Herschel (p. 6) stresses the fact that "natural history . . . places the existence and principal characteristics of a Deity on such grounds as to render doubt absurd and atheism ridiculous . . . By cherishing as a vital principle an unbounded spirit of inquiry, and ardency of expectation, it unfetters the mind from prejudices of every kind, and leaves it open and free to every impression of a higher nature which it is capable of receiving, guarding only against enthusiasm and self-deception by a habit of strict investigation, but encouraging, rather than suppressing, everything that can offer a prospect or a hope beyond the present obscure and unsatisfactory state."

[78] Pp. 27-28.

[79] *J.*, II, 362.

[80] *J.*, II, 487.

[81] J. E. Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 154 ff.

26, he had recorded in the *Journals* his state of mind in a long passage developing the theme that "astronomy . . . irresistibly modifies all theology,"[82] a theme which he repeated with increasing assurance.[83]

> Calvinism suited Ptolemaism. The irresistible effect of Copernican Astronomy has been to make the great scheme for the Salvation of man absolutely incredible. Hence great geniuses who studied the mechanism of the heavens [the title of Mary Somerville's book which he had just read] became unbelievers in the popular faith. Newton became a Unitarian, Laplace, in a Catholic country, became an infidel, substituting necessity for God; but a self-intelligent necessity is God. Thus astronomy proves theism but disproves dogmatic theology.

Thus, whereas Emerson's one hundred and seventy-one unpublished sermons are, according to Mr. Cabot, "all within the conventions of the Unitarian pulpit,"[84] his interest in astronomy[85]—in "the immutable universal laws" of physics which "translate the laws of ethics"—would appear to have been not least among the factors which *immediately* motivated the indifference Emerson expressed on June 2, 1832, toward "an effete, superannuated Christianity" based on "the dead forms of our forefathers."[86]

II

If the concept of astronomical law—this "sky of law"—encouraged Emerson's turn against ecclesiasticism and its reliance

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[82] *J.*, II, 489-91.

[83] See, for example, *J.*, X, 462-63, and especially "The Progress of Culture" (*Wks.*, VIII, 207-234), which throbs with the "new hope" inspired by "natural science." "The narrow sectarian cannot read astronomy with impunity. The creeds of his church shrivel like dried leaves at the door of the observatory, and a new and healthful air regenerates the human mind, and imparts a sympathetic enlargement to its inventions and methods."

[84] J. E. Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 152.

[85] Emerson's son testified to the poet's life-long interest in astronomy. "In the heavenly bodies Emerson early found his teachers: symbols of light and law, in their beauty, their vast excursion and sure return, they guide his thought and illuminate his works . . . His early journals show that the system of Copernicus widened his views as a minister. In 1833, in Florence, he did homage at the tomb of Galileo. He read the lives of Kepler, and Newton, and Herschel's Astronomy . . ." (*Wks.*, I, 405). The hackneyed dictum, "Hitch your wagon to a star" (*Wks.*, VII, 28), is in its context not a mere rhetorical gesture but an injunction to borrow, by cooperating with, "the might of the elements. The force of steam, gravity, light, magnets, wind, fire, serve us day by day and cost us nothing. Our astronomy is full of examples of calling in the aid of these magnificent helpers." See also the essay on "Power": "All power is of one kind, a sharing of the nature of the world. The mind that is parallel with the laws of nature will be in the current of event and strong with their strength" (*Wks.*, VI, 56).

[86] *J.*, II, 491-92.

upon ceremonial and ritual, to what extent may his knowledge of evolution have motivated his faith not only in law but in "*animated* law," not only in tendency but in "*beneficent* tendency"?[87] For, although Emerson was acquainted with all of what Professor A. N. Whitehead regards as the "four great novel ideas"[88] which were introduced into theoretical science in the nineteenth century (the electro-magnetism of Oersted[89] and Faraday,[90] the idea of atomicity of Dalton;[91] the doctrine of the conservative of energy[92] sponsored by Helmholz, Mayer, and Grove; and the doctrine of evolution), he was most interested in evolution.

Let us consider, first, Emerson's knowledge of evolution gained from his reading and his American associates, and second, his knowledge gained through travel and the influence of this knowl-

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[87] For other expressions of Emerson's faith in beneficent law see such references as the following: *Wks.*, I, 282; I, 371; 390; VI, 48; IV, 183; VI, 350; VII, 37; III, 212; X, 85-86.

[88] A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, N. Y., 1928. 143 ff.

[89] For reference to Oersted see *Wks.*, IV, 10; VIII, 222; and especially X, 183, where "the discovery of Oersted that galvanism and electricity and magnetism are only forms of one and the same force" supports Emerson's view that "the great departments of nature—chemistry, vegetation, the animal life—exhibits the same laws on a different plane; that the intellectual and moral worlds are analogous to the material."

[90] After Emerson's return from Europe he eagerly followed the experiments of scientists such as Faraday, and drew on them to illustrate his lectures and to confirm his optimism. In 1833, for example, he wrote, "What may we not expect from a familiar and full comprehension of the amazing discoveries that the naturalists of this day have made, from the wonderful application of polarized light to the discovery of periodical colours in refrangible substances, and so to the uncovering of nature's primary forms in the secret architecture of bodies, or the great, long expected discovery of the identity of electricity and magnetism lately completed by Dr. Faraday's obtaining the spark from the magnet, and the opening almost a door to the secret mechanism of life and sensation in the relation of the pile of Volta to the electrical fish" (*J.*, III, 225). Among other references to Faraday see *Wks.*, VIII, 4, 306, 311; X, 70, 326-9; XII, 3; *Journals*, VIII, 487; IX, 106; 107; X, 140, 364.

[91] See *Wks.*, III, 183; IV, 9, 109 (where Emerson relates the atomic theory to metaphysical centrality); VII, 238; and V, 24 (where Emerson mentions the fact that Wordsworth and he discussed "Dalton's atomic theory" in 1832).

[92] See such passages as the following: "There is never a beginning, there is never an end, to the inexplicable continuity of this web of God, but always circular power returning into itself" (*Wks.*, I, 85).

> Line in nature is not found;
> Unit and universe are round;
> In vain produced, all rays return. (*Wks.*, IX, 14)

"Science has shown the great circles in which Nature works, the manner in which marine plants balance the marine animals, as the land plants supply the oxygen which the animals consume, and the animals the carbon which the plants absorb . . ." (VII, 143). See also, on the principle of "convertibility," *Wks.*, X, 183-84, and IV, 82-83.

edge. Doubtless Emerson's mind had been rendered receptive to the doctrine of evolution by his early study of such books as Butler's *Analogy,* Wollaston's *Religion of Nature,* and especially Paley's *Natural Theology.* For in his Bowdoin Prize essay of 1821 he had sought for ethics "foundations of certainty like any other science," and had concluded it "safer to reason from *adaptation* and *analogy*" in "the constitution of the world."[93] If Paley defended "the *personality* of the Deity"[94] and if his semi-orthodox faith in "contrivance" and "a designing mind"[95] supported American theology[96] rather than the Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection, it should be remembered that *Natural Theology* offered Emerson a rather detailed introduction to current botany, zoology, astronomy, and physiology "applied to the proof of an intelligent Creator. For my part," Paley concludes, "I take my stand in human anatomy."[97] If, as historians of science assert, "the idea of an evolutionary process in nature is at least as old as the days of the Greek philosophers,"[98] Emerson became acquainted rather early, through his reading of the *Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie par M. De Gérando*[99] and otherwise, with Greeks interested in development such as Heraclitus,[1] Empedocles,[2] Anaxagoras,[3] Xenophanes,[4] Anaximander,[5] Aristotle,[6]

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[93] E. E. Hale, *op. cit.,* 116.

[94] William Paley, *Natural Theology,* Chapter XXIII, "Of the Personality of the Deity."

[95] *Ibid.,* 16.

[96] See M. R. Cohen, *Cambridge History of American Literature,* III, 230 ff. "To understand the profound revolution in religious and philosophic thought caused by the advent of the hypothesis of organic revolution, we must remember that natural history was, after Paley, an integral part of American theology. The current religious philosophy rested very largely on what were then called the evidences of design in the organic world; and the theory of natural selection rendered all these arguments futile . . ."

[97] Paley, *op. cit.,* 344 ff.

[98] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.,* 292 ff. See also G. H. Parker, *What Evolution Is,* Cambridge, 1926, 12 ff.

[99] *J.,* II, 328-47. See also J. S. Harrison, *op. cit., passim.*

[1] As Emerson's son remarked (*Wks.,* I, xxvii), the poet was much attracted toward Heraclitus' doctrine of "The Flowing of the Universe." See, for example, Emerson's quotation, in 1830, of the ancient philosopher's idea that "all change," an idea which he calls a "good thing" in relation to the remainder of the quotation: "All nature is governed by constant laws. The phenomena themselves, which appear discordant, concur in the harmony of the whole. It is an accord which results from discords. Meantime all change. Attraction, Repulsion" (*J.,* II, 344).

[2] He was familiar with Empedocles, who "taught that the development of life is a gradual process, and that imperfect forms are slowly replaced by forms

Plato,[7] and Plotinus.[8] It is perhaps significant that "To the first edition of *Nature* Mr. Emerson prefixed a motto from Plotinus, and Dr. William T. Harris finds the thought of the later motto[9] in these words from the same source: 'We might say that all beings, not only the rational ones but even the irrational ones, the plants and even the soil that bears them, aspire to conscious knowledge.' "[10] And finally, Emerson's mind must have been further prepared for the doctrine of evolution by the strong influence of

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more perfect" (Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.*, 292; Emerson's *Wks.*, I, 198; *J.*, II, 328-47).

[3] See references, *J.*, II, 337-39, to "Anaxagoras who cultivated the Physical Sciences." Also *J.*, II, 442.

[4] See *J.*, II, 342-43, for Emerson's quotations from Xenophanes: "God is one . . . He cannot be conceived under the human form . . . Whichever side [Xenophanes] looked all ran to Unity." Compare with *Nature* (*Wks.*, I, 43): "Herein is especially apprehended the unity of Nature,—the unity in variety,—which meets us everywhere. All the endless variety of things make an identical impression. Xenophanes complained in his old age, that, look where he would, all things hastened back to Unity."

[5] De Gérando (*J.*, II, 337) acquainted Emerson with Anaximander, the great physical philosopher of the Ionian School, who held "a form of general evolution in which man was especially evolved," assuming for man "an aquatic ancestry, perhaps fish-like in character" (G. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, 12-13).

[6] It is probable that Emerson knew of Aristotle's conjecture that "the more perfect type might . . . have been developed out of the less perfect," for as early as 1821 (Hale, *op. cit.*, 104) we find him saying that "Aristotle . . . manifests the infancy of science" and praising his "intellect which was acute to devise and vast to comprehend." See such passages as these: *Wks.*, I, 55; *J.*, II, 338-39. Aristotle is said to have spent his happiest years about the Aegean, collecting data regarding fish and marine life for biological studies which Darwin admired (D. W. Thompson, *The Legacy of Greece*, 144).

[7] Emerson paid homage to Plato as an "all-knowing Greek geometer, . . . the Euclid of holiness," whose "celestial geometry" affirms "the coincidence of science and virtue." He was the "eldest Goethe," recognizing that "man is the microcosm," devoted to Dialectic, "a science of sciences," "that one sole science which embraces all." He held that "all virtue and all felicity depend on this science of the real," and as "a master of mathematics, studious of all natural laws and causes" he was able "to anticipate the astronomy of Laplace" (*Wks.*, IV, 39-89). For Emerson's early tribute to "the purple light of Plato which shines in all ages," see *J.*, III, 418, and see J. S. Harrison.

[8] *Wks.*, IX, 457. See also *J.*, II, 323, and the extensive discussion in J. S. Harrison, *op. cit.*

[9] The motto reads:

> "And, striving to be man, the worm
> Mounts through all the spires of form."

[10] *Wks.*, IX, 457.

Bacon,[11] although he deplored Bacon's utilitarianism[12] and Lockism. For Bacon was foremost of those who made the intellectual history of the seventeenth century noteworthy for, first, "concreteness, sense of fact, the substitution of direct observation and experiment for the scholastic logic," second, the disregard for authority engendered by this emphasis on fact, and third, "the substitution of a theory of progress for the older theory, dominant in Renaissance literature, of the golden age and the decadence of man and nature."[13]

The most powerful factors, however, behind Emerson's interest in evolution may be divided into two classes: the evolutionary philosophers such as Leibnitz, Kant, Goethe, and Coleridge; and the evolutionary scientists such as Linnaeus, Buffon, Cuvier, John Hunter, Erasmus Darwin, Saint-Hilaire, Lamarck, Lyell, and many others whose influence began after 1838, such as Robert Chambers, Asa Gray, Agassiz, and Charles Darwin. Of the philosophers, Emerson read Leibnitz[14] in his early twenties, and his son suggests[15] the influence of "Leibnitz's *scale of being* from minerals through plants to animals, from monad to man." As Professor Harald Höffding[16] has reminded us, however, "Development for Leibnitz means no more than unfolding," a doctrine suggestive of Emerson's statement that "all progress is an unfolding, like the vegetable bud," that man's growth may be likened to that of the "shellfish" who "crawls out of its beautiful but stony case, because it no longer admits of its growth, and slowly forms a new house."[17]

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[11] Mr. Stout studied Bacon's influence on Emerson in a Master's thesis at the University of North Carolina.

[12] For example, see *Wks.*, V, 247-48, and Leslie Stephens' essay on Emerson (*Studies of a Biographer*, London, 1902, IV, 153 ff.).

[13] Edwin Greenlaw, "The New Science and English Literature," in *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XIII, 331-359 (June, 1925). See also Carson S. Duncan, *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period*, Wisconsin, 1913. (A doctoral dissertation done at the University of Chicago.)

[14] *J.*, I, 298; *J.*, II, 34; *Wks.*, I, 34. Later he read the discussion of Leibnitz in Barchon de Penhoen's *History of German Philosophy from Leibnitz to Hegel* (*J.*, VI, 143-46).

[15] *Wks.*, I, xxvi.

[16] *A History of Modern Philosophy*, London, 1920. I, 355 ff. Höffding remarks, "In his view the individual organism has, properly speaking, no genesis; it exists from the beginning; its birth and growth consist in its being relieved of its wrappings—in its dimensions being enlarged."

[17] *Wks.*, II, 124 and 330.

Possibly this latter figure helped to suggest to Holmes[18] *The Chambered Nautilus,* which is a poetic rendering of Emerson's humanistic idea of growth as a balanced, symmetrical, concentric expansion from a center, an idea not so illiberal and stultifying as critics of humanism would have us believe. Probably the transcendental Emerson was not uninfluenced by the transcendental Kant, who was interested in astronomy, physical geography, and anthropology, and whose Nebular Hypothesis of 1755 was "the earliest of all scientific theories of evolution."[19] Kant said that the descent of all organic beings from a common original matter was an hypothesis which "alone is in harmony with the principles of the mechanism of Nature, without which a science of nature is altogether impossible." It was doubtless Coleridge, whose *The Friend* represented "the centre"[20] of philosophy to Emerson in 1829, who introduced him to such early evolutionists as John Hunter, Erasmus Darwin, and Saint-Hilaire and set them against a transcendental, Platonic, and Christian background. For *The Friend* had called Hunter "the profoundest, I had almost said the only, physiological philosopher of the latter half of the preceding century,"[21] and Coleridge praised the Hunterian Museum (to be visited by Emerson in 1833)[22] which supported "his growing belief in the unity of organization among different species of animals—a unity which is based on certain great universal laws."[23] Coleridge reacted

[18] O. W. Holmes, the biographer of Emerson, confessed (*A Mortal Antipathy,* 18-19) "thinking thoughts" and "using phrases . . . unconsciously borrowed" from Emerson, his "high-souled companion." Emerson's passage on the "shell-fish" was written at least seventeen years before *The Chambered Nautilus* (1858).

[19] John Fiske, *op. cit.,* 26. H. Höffding (*op. cit.,* II, 76-77) says, in discussing Kant's *A General History of Nature* and his other scientific work, "Two of the leading thoughts contained in the doctrine of evolution are to be found in Kant: the principle of actuality, according to which the past is to be explained through causes which we know from the experience of the present, and the principle of the accumulation of small effects into great and remote results."

[20] Cabot, *op. cit.,* I, 161. See "Emerson's Debt to Coleridge," by Frank T. Thompson, *Studies in Philology,* XVIII, 55 ff. 1926.

[21] *The Friend,* final version, Section 2, Essays 7 and 9.

[22] *J.,* III, 180.

[23] George R. Potter, "Coleridge and the Idea of Evolution" (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.,* XL, 384, 1925), p. 384. This is an admirable study, taking into account Coleridge's later Trinitarian divergence from the evolutionists. I have drawn upon it heavily for this paragraph on Coleridge. See also Joseph Needham, "Coleridge as a Philosophical Biologist" (*Science Progress,* XX, 692 ff. 1926).

violently from Erasmus Darwin's evolutionary views, mainly on account of his unfounded suspicion that Darwin was a deist, but he was strongly attracted toward Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's dualistic concern with the relation between "the permanence of the general plan" and nature's "varying forms,"[24]—which is suggestive of Emerson's doctrine of a progressive "unity in variety"[25] and of the interesting way in which early evolutionary doctrines and the dualism of Plato and Xenophanes might be paralleled. Coleridge wrote a note on Saint-Hilaire's theory, which he later published, stressing the analogy between the organs of lower and higher animals as being "prophetic of an important function in some higher genus or species,"[26] and in *Aids to Reflection*, with which Emerson was early acquainted, Coleridge had declared "All things strive, to ascend, and ascend in their striving."[27] He saw in the bee and the swallow "the shadow of approaching humanity."[28] Now Emerson praised Coleridge in 1835 as having "taken the widest survey of the moral, intellectual, and social world,"[29] and elsewhere he said he "wrote and spoke the only high criticism in his time."[30] It is not strange, then, that after reading Coleridge, who discussed Saint-Hilaire's views of "the unity[31] of animal composition, and his theory that different families and even different classes of animals have organs and structures analogous to one another—that, for instance, the fin of a fish, the wing of a bird, the hand of a man, are all analogous in their structure and closely related,"[32]—it is not strange that after returning from his visit to the Hunterian Museum and the Garden of Plants in 1833, Emerson should have embodied Saint-Hilaire's doctrine in the second

[24] This passage occurs in Saint-Hilaire's article, read by Coleridge, in the *Quarterly Journal of Foreign Medicine and Surgery*, Vol. I, 1818-19, p. 89. Coleridge appears also to have read Saint-Hilaire's *Philosophie Anatomique*.

[25] *Wks.*, I, 43. See Wks., IV, 47 ff., on Plato's dualism between Unity and Variety.

[26] *Notes Theological. Political, and Miscellaneous*, 248-49.

[27] *Aids to Reflection*, Comment on Aphorism 74, listed with Emerson's reading for 1829 (*J.*, II, 280).

[28] *Ibid.*, (same comment).

[29] Cabot, *op cit.*, II, 723.

[30] *Wks.*, V, 248.

[31] Compare Emerson, *Wks.*, X, 183-84: "This unity exists in the organization of insect, beast, and bird, still ascending to man."

[32] G. R. Potter, *op. cit.*, 384.

lecture of his life, December, 1833.[33] He dwells upon the fact,

> the most surprising, I may say the most sublime, that man is no upstart in the creation, but has been prophesied in nature for a thousand thousand ages before he appeared; that from times incalculably remote, there has been a progressive preparation for him, an effort to produce him; the meaner creatures containing the elements of his structure and pointing at it from every side . . . His limbs are only a more exquisite organization—say rather the finish—of the rudimental forms that have been already sweeping the sea and creeping in the mud: the brother of his hand is even now cleaving the Arctic Sea in the fin of the whale, and innumerable ages since was pawing the marsh in the flipper of the saurian.

That the influence of German transcendentalism[34] and that of science were not mutually exclusive is illustrated not only in the case of Kant and Coleridge but especially in the case of Goethe. For Goethe was most influential upon Emerson from 1830 to 1840,[35] and *The Metamorphoses of Plants* (1790)[36] and *Introduction to Morphology* (1795-1807) by the great German "laid the philosophic foundations of comparative anatomy in both vegetal and animal worlds."[37] Referring to Kant's evolutionary theory, Goethe said, "Nothing could hinder me from boldly maintaining this 'adventure of reason,' as the sage of Königsberg calls it." Later, Emerson dealt at length with the fact that "Goethe suggested the leading idea of modern botany, that a leaf or the eye of a leaf is the unit of botany," and he quoted Goethe's doctrine that, "as the tapeworm, the caterpillar, goes from knot to knot and closes with the head," so "man and the higher animals are built up through the vertebrae, the powers being concentrated in the head."[38] We know, however, that Goethe was a definite influence upon Emerson's lecture on "The Humanity of Science" of 1836, which embodied his doctrine of evolution, for he makes a specific reference to the great German's central doctrine: "Goethe reduces the plant to a leaf, the animal to a vertebra."[39] It is important to observe that

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[33] Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 224, "On the Relation of Man to the Globe." Evidently Cabot made an error in the date, for he gives it as 1832 (II, 710-11), whereas Emerson did not arrive home from Europe until November, 1833.

[34] Dr. F. H. Hedge read Emerson Schleiermacher on Physics vs. Ethics, in 1834. (*J.*, III, 393).

[35] See quotations from Goethe, *J.*, II, 348-50, and F. B. Wahr, *op. cit.*, 73.

[36] Emerson was acquainted with this work in 1834 (*J.*, III, 293).

[37] John Fiske, *op. cit.*, 15.

[38] *Wks.*, IV, 275. See the whole essay on Goethe (IV, 261-290) and also *Wks.*, VIII, 7, and X, 338, which includes a reference to "the ideal history" of "Schelling and Oken."

[39] Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 725.

Goethe not only accepts Saint-Hilaire's view[40] regarding the unity of type and variety of form, but that in Goethe Emerson had access to the doctrine of a deity immanent in natural law. For Goethe held that

> All members form themselves according to eternal laws, and the rarest form preserves in secret the primitive type. The form determines the animal's mode of life, while reciprocally, the mode of life reacts powerfully on all forms . . . What kind of God were he who impelled things only from outside, and let the universe twirl round his finger? God moves the world inwardly, cherishes nature in himself, himself in nature, so that whatever lives and works and exists in him never misses his power nor his spirit.[41]

It seems probable, then, that Goethe was not least influential among those who encouraged Emerson to define the deity as "conscious," "animated law," in 1838.

Let us turn, now, from the evolutionary philosophers to the evolutionary scientists and Emerson's knowledge of them. His early work[42] indicates his familiarity with Linnaeus, who "established systematics by publishing in his *Systema Naturae* a classification and description of all the plants and animals known in his time."[43] Emerson's reading list for 1826[44] includes Buffon's *Natural History of Animals* which rendered him "the first among naturalists to compare systematically the structure of existing animals with the remains of extinct fossils, and thus to demonstrate that the past, no less than the present, must be taken into account in any study of the development of living creatures."[45] And Emerson read Lee's *Life of Cuvier*[46] in 1830, quoting Cuvier's "fourfold division of the animal kingdom," although he was not impressed with Lee's statement that "Cuvier rejects the idea of a scale of beings as not founded in nature." It should be remembered that Cuvier was the celebrated teacher and friend of Agassiz, and that, while he, like Agassiz, accepted a theory of catastrophism rather than one

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[40] Goethe, according to Soret (*Conversations with Eckermann*), found Saint-Hilaire's debate in 1830 with Cuvier on fixity of type more significant than the Revolution of 1830. Emerson includes Saint-Hilaire among "the poets of science" (*J.*, X, 364). See also *J.*, X, 366-67 and *Wks.*, VIII, 7.

[41] As quoted by E. D. Mead, "Emerson and the Philosophy of Evolution" (*The Princeton Review*, Vol. 63, 1884, pp. 233-256).

[42] See, for example, *J.*, III, 289; 428; 284-85; X, 206, 210, 364; Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 731; *Wks.*, I, 28; 105; IV, 8; V, 54; XII, 136-37.

[43] G. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

[44] *J.*, II, 143. See *J.*, II, 27 (1824) for Emerson's praise of "Buffon, the ingenious and benevolent describer of the growth and habits of animals."

[45] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.*, 291.

[46] *J.*, II, 351-52. See also his praise of Cuvier, *J.*, II, 502.

of natural selection, his work in comparative anatomy and vertebrate paleontology "announced the presence in continental strata of a series of faunas which showed a gradual organic improvement from the earliest such assemblage to the most modern, an idea of the most fundamental importance."[47] We have noted the possibility that Coleridge's praise of John Hunter, in *The Friend* which Emerson read in 1829, may have directed him to Hunter's doctrine that, "if we were to take a series of animals, from the more imperfect to the perfect, we should probably find an imperfect animal corresponding with some stage of the most perfect,"[48] Later, Emerson paid tribute to "the electric word pronounced by John Hunter a hundred years ago, *arrested and progressive development,* indicating the way upward from the invisible protoplasm to the highest organisms. . ."[49] Whether Emerson had himself read Hunter, as Mr. M. C. Conway thought, or not, Emerson's son says definitely that "Richard Owen mentioned this expression to Mr. Emerson as found by him in Hunter's manuscripts,"[50] on the occasion of the poet's visit to the Hunterian Museum of Anatomy. Emerson was acquainted[51] with Erasmus Darwin's work, which stressed the way "acquired qualities may be transmitted",[52]

[47] See, in *A Century of Science in America,* by E. S. Dana and others (New Haven, 1918), R. S. Lull, "On the Development of Vertebrate Paleontology," pp. 220-21.

[48] *The Works of John Hunter,* edited by J. F. Palmer, London, 1835-37. Vol. I, 265.

[49] *Wks.,* VIII, 7-8. The passage continues, saying Hunter "gave the poetic key to Natural Science, of which the theories of Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, of Oken, of Goethe, of Agassiz and Owen and [Erasmus] Darwin in zoology and botany, are the fruits, a hint whose power is not yet exhausted, showing unity and perfect order in physics . . . All multiplicity rushes to be resolved into unity. Anatomy, osteology, exhibit arrested or progressive assent in each kind; the lower pointing to the higher forms, the higher to the highest, from the fluid in an elastic sack, from radiate, mollusk, articulate, vertebrate, up to man; as if the whole animal world were only a Hunterian museum to exhibit the genesis of mankind."

[50] *J.,* VII, 70. See M. C. Conway (*Open Court,* XI, 500). Emerson's son believes the passage about Hunter to have been added after 1859 (*Wks.,* VIII, 360). See also *J.,* X, 364.

[51] *J.,* III, 299, 428. Following Coleridge's lead, he disliked Darwin.

[52] H. Höffding (*op. cit.,* I, 499) continues, "the psychological doctrine of association is thus extended to a biological doctrine of evolution, which has not a little in common with the hypothesis of the development of species brought forward some years later by Lamarck." The doctrine referred to is developed in Darwin's *Zoönomia, or the Laws of Organic Life,* London, 1794, Pt. I, Ch. 39.

for Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of the author of *The Origin of the Species* (1859), thought that from:

> the metamorphoses of animals, as from the tadpole to the frog . . . the changes produced by artificial cultivation, as in the breeds of horses, dogs, and sheep, . . . the changes produced by conditions of climates and season, . . . the essential unity of plan in all warm-blooded animals, . . . we are led to conclude that they have been alike produced from a living filament.

Mention has already been made of the influence of Saint-Hilaire, which may have come to Emerson through secondary sources such as Coleridge, Goethe, or later Agassiz. Of all the evolutionary scientists, however, the influence on Emerson of Lamarck, "the founder of the doctrine of modern evolution,"[53] is most evident. For Lamarck's *Philosophie Zoölogique* (1809) "sets forth a plea that the plants and animals of today had arisen by the modification of pre-existing forms,"[54] and explains the modification chiefly by "the effect upon organisms of the surroundings or environment."[55] Thus, when Emerson lectured on evolution in 1836, it appears that to the concept of immutable law—impressed upon him by his study of astronomy—he had added the concept of animation and beneficent ascent; and the chief authority he cites is Lamarck, the celebrated professor of natural history at the Paris Botanical Gardens who had died in 1829:

> Lamarck finds a monad of organic life common to every animal, and becoming a worm, a mastiff, or a man, according to circumstances. He says to the caterpillar, How dost thou, brother? Please God, you shall yet be a philosopher. The blocks fit. All agents, the most diverse, are pervaded by radical analogies; and in deviations and degradations we learn that the law is not only firm and eternal, but also alive. . .[56]

Evolution, then, appears to have given Emerson a positive faith in "the law . . . not only firm and eternal, but also alive." And this Newtonian, Goethean, Lamarckian sense of divine immanence in the law alive bears a strong kinship, at least, to the Over-Soul, or "conscious," "animated law," and Emerson's sublime faith that "through the years and the centuries, through evil agents,

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[53] E. S. Dana and others, *op. cit.*, 108.

[54] G. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, 14.

[55] *Ibid.*, 73-79.

[56] Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 725. See Wks., III, 283, for Emerson's dualistic reliance upon "the law alive and beautiful" rather than on "flesh and blood"—a reliance on Unity rather than Variety. See also "The Sphinx" (*Wks.*, IX, 20 ff.), and Emerson's prose explanation (p. 412) with reference to "identity" and "variety."

through toys and atoms, a great and beneficent tendency irresistibly streams."[57]

The list of those who furthered Emerson's knowledge of science might be much extended. His comment to Carlyle[58] on Benjamin Silliman's "course of fifteen or sixteen lectures on Geology" given in Boston in 1835 suggests his acquaintance with the work of this Yale professor who was "the most popular and widely known of all" engaged in this study, who "spread the knowledge to the discoveries to the lay public,"[59] and who founded the *American Journal of Science* in 1818. In 1835 Emerson read[60] Sir Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology,* the epoch-making book which modified the cataclysmal theories of the older geologists and presented "all available evidence bearing on the manner and extent to which the Earth is still being moulded into new forms by water, volcanoes and earth-quakes, as-well as all known facts about fossils."[61] Later Lyell, who continued the work of James Hutton, made a long journey through the United States; Emerson comments on his presence at a meeting of geologists in Boston, 1842.[62] He noted, looking backward, that the "correction of our superstitions was confirmed by the new science of Geology,"[63]—a correction, in Emerson's case, no doubt aided by the influence of Lyell's "attempt to explain," as he said, "the former changes of its [the earth's] surface by causes now in operation." Emerson was familiar with the work of Sir Charles Bell, [64] Sprengel, and De Candolle,[65] as well as with Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne,*[66] Huber's *Nouvelles observations sur les abeilles,*[67] and Jacob Biglow's *Plants*

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[57] *Wks.,* IV, 185-86.

[58] *Correspondence,* I, 54.

[59] See C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man,* N. Y., 1927, 241, and also G. P. Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* N. Y., 1866. I, 319, and *passim*; II, 1-100.

[60] *J.,* III, 575; IV, 174; *Wks.,* I, xxviii.

[61] W. C. Dampier-Whetham, *op. cit.,* 290.

[62] Emerson's *Uncollected Writings,* 78-79.

[63] *Wks.,* X, 336. In the *Journals* of 1826 (II, 125) he says, "See the 68th number of the *Quarterly Review* for some prodigiously fine remarks at the close of the Geological article." Unfortunately, Emerson must have made an error in his reference, for the 68th number is dated 1841 and has nothing in it about geology.

[64] *J.,* III, 240.

[65] *J.,* IV, 91, 174.

[66] *J.,* III, 428.

[67] *J.,* II, 328.

of the Vicinity of Boston.[68] Indeed, there are extensive passages of technical botanizing in the *Journals*[69] long before he met Thoreau, which indicate that his concrete observation of nature was by no means first inspired by Thoreau. It is interesting to speculate upon the extent to which the incomparable beauty of Emerson's nature descriptions,[70] which illustrate his philosophy and which in no small measure render his work of value as literature, were inspired by his early botanizing and the habit of concrete observation bred by science. On the other hand, one must not forget the way in which his interest in science and concrete observation must have been stimulated by association with his brother-in-law Dr. Charles T. Jackson, [71] with Mrs. Sarah Ripley,[72] his brother Charles,[73] W. E. Channing,[74] and especially Thoreau,[75]

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[68] *J.*, II, 328-29; III, 428; VI, 64.

[69] *J.*, III, 264-65; 270-71; 283.

[70] See the passage beginning (*Wks.*, I, 17): "The long slender bars of cloud float like fishes in the sea of crimson light. From the earth, as a shore, I look out into the silent sea. I seem to partake of its rapid transformations; the active enchantment reaches my dust, and I dilate and conspire with the morning wind." And see also (*J.*, III, 418), the passage beginning: "The leafless trees become spires of flame in the sunset, with the blue East for their background, and the stars of the dead calices of flowers, and every withered stem and stubble rimed with frost, with all their forms and hues contribute something to the mute music." See the passage which served as the basis for the poem "Each and All" (*J.*, III, 372-73): "Look at a narcissus, or crocus, or lily, or petal, or stamen, or plumule,—at any process of life, and answer. What can be conceived so beautiful as an assemblage of bright and opake balls floating in space, covered each with pretty races, and each individual a counterpart and contemplator of the whole." See also *J.*, IV, 459 on "the cathedralled larches." It is possibly significant that passages of such rare beauty do not appear before Emerson's interest in scientific observation.

[71] He was interested in all aspects of science, many of which he discussed with Emerson, and he was awarded the palm by the French Academy for discoveries concerning anaethesia. Emerson refers to him as his wife's brother, and our best chemist, inventor of etherization." *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson,* II, 204.

[72] Emerson remarked that she "always had a keen ear open to whatever new facts astronomy, chemistry, or the theories of light and heat had to furnish" (*J.*, X, 208). See O. Firkins, *Emerson,* 94.

[73] Emerson said of Charles, "His senses were those of a Greek. I owe to them a thousand observations." When Charles died (1836), the poet wrote, "The eye is closed that was to see nature for me and give me leave to see." The brothers had been in the habit of taking long walks together (Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 272).

[74] W. E. Channing, the nephew of the great divine, was "as true a lover of nature as Thoreau" and was much interested in botany. See R. M. Gay, *Emerson,* N. Y., 1928. 135.

[75] Emerson and Thoreau met in 1837, Emerson finding in his friend "as free and erect a mind as any I have ever met," (*J.*, IV, 395) after the first of their many walks together. In 1841 Thoreau came to live with the Emer-

Were we to extend this study beyond the year 1838, we should have to deal with the influence of such figures as Asa Gray, Robert Chambers, Agassiz, and Charles Darwin.

Turning now from a survey of the possible influence of Emerson's reading and associates to that of his first trip to Europe in 1832-33, we recall that he had cut himself loose from what he regarded as the eccleciastical "dead forms of our forefathers," and that he now journeyed forth as a "seeker"[76] for seers who held the key to life's riddle. He visited Landor, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Carlyle, men who influenced him not a little, men whom he respected, but we must steadily remember that he pronounced them, even the burley Scot, "all deficient in insight into religious truth."[77] Indeed, one is tempted to raise the question whether the greatest impact on Emerson's mind in Europe was not caused by his observations in museums of natural history, listening to scientists, and by his contemplation of religious problems in the light of science. At Rome he "stopped long" before the tomb of Galileo —whose life he had read the preceding February[78]—"for," as he said, "I love and honor that man, except in the recantation, with my whole heart."[79] In Italy, he "visited Professor Amici," the "maker of the best microscope in Europe," who had also "made

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sons for two years. "They worked in the garden together, and Thoreau grafted the trees of the orchard in which Emerson afterwards took so much pride and pleasure" (Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 282). (Emerson had been reading in the work of Downing on the theory of Van Mons on amelioration of fruits by artificial selection. See Gay, *Emerson*, 151.) Emerson in his essay on Thoreau paid high tribute to Thoreau as a naturalist, stressing the accuracy of his observation and his versatility (*Wks.*, X, 466), and he prophesied that Thoreau's usefulness would convince us that "we must have one day a naturalist in every village as invariably as a lawyer or doctor." (Quoted in Mark Van Doren's *Thoreau*, Boston, 1916, p. 123.) On the whole subject of Thoreau's naturalism see the masterly study in Norman Foerster's *Nature in American Literature*, N. Y., 1923, 69-142. Emerson recognized the importance of imagery as related to observation of nature, and in comparing himself with Thoreau, he remarked, "he takes a step beyond and illustrates by excellent images that which I should have conveyed in a sleepy generalization." (Quoted by E. W. Emerson, *Emerson in Concord*, Boston, 1890, 113.) As an illustration of the sort of style which his association with Thoreau inspired, note the liquid beauty of the passage (*J.*, V, 557-58) beginning: "Then the good river-god has taken the form of my valiant Henry Thoreau here and introduced me to the riches of his shadowy, starlit, moonlit stream, a lovely new world lying as close and yet as unknown to this vulgar trite one of streets and shops as death to life, or poetry to prose. . . ."

[76] *J.*, III, 153.

[77] *Ibid.*, III, 186.

[78] *Ibid.*, II, 466.

[79] *Ibid.*, III, 106.

a telescope for Herschel in London,"[80] and he "went to the Museum of Natural History" in Florence.[81] At Padua he "heard the professor Caldania lecture upon anatomy with a subject," and he "saw the museum."[82] Then, over the Simplon and through the Alps to Paris. "I have been to the Sorbonne, where the first scientific men in France lecture at stated hours every day. . . I have heard Jouffroy, Thénard and Gay Lussac. Then the *Collège Royale de France* is a similar institution on the same liberal foundation. So with the *Collège du Droit,* and the Amphitheatre of the Garden of Plants."[83] On July 13, 1833, he recorded his momentous impressions of "the Cabinet of Natural History in the Garden of Plants," being especially concerned with the colorful exhibits in the Arnithological Chambers. "Ah, said I, this is philanthropy, wisdom, taste,—to form a cabinet of natural history. . . . Here we are impressed with the inexhaustible riches of nature. The universe is a more amazing puzzle than ever, as you glance along this bewildering series of animated forms,—the hazy butterflies, the carved shells, the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, snakes, and the upheaving principle of life everywhere incipient, in the very rock aping organized forms. Not a form so grotesque, so savage, nor so beautiful but is an expression of some property inherent in man the observer,—an occult relation between the very scorpions and man. I feel the centipede in me,—cayman, carp, eagle, and fox. I am moved by strange sympathies; I say continually, 'I will be a naturalist.' "[84] He continues, discussing the Comparative Anatomy Chambers, the Garden itself with its classification of "the conspicuous plants of each class on Jussieu's system"—the great Jussieu who "would next Sunday give a public herborisation, that is, make a botanical excursion into the country, . . . inviting all and sundry to a company him." Another day he visited "the *séance* of the Class of Science in the Institute, and . . . saw Biot, Arago, Gay Lussac, Jouffroy, and others. Several memoirs were read, and some debate ensued."[85] He may have

[80] *Ibid.*, III, 118.
[81] *Ibid.*, III, 118.
[82] *Ibid.*, III, 129.
[83] *Ibid.*, III, 156.
[84] *Ibid.*, III, 161-164.
[85] *Ibid.*, III, 170.

also heard Leverrier,[86] but since he was more interested in the poetic and philosophic aspects than in the merely technical, the lectures did not always interest him. Then to London, where he visited the Gallery of Practical Science and the Zoölogical Gardens.[87] In visiting the Shakespearean Warwickshire and Kenilworth Castle he seems to have paid most attention to the flowers. "I marked that the botany of England and America is alike. The clematis, the mints, the goldenrods, the gerardias, the wild geranium, the wild parsley, and twenty more better known to my eye than to my ear, I saw and recognized them all."[88] Then, on the way to Carlyle, a stop at the Hunterian museum,[89] containing the great anatomical collection of the scientist Emerson had found praised in Coleridge's *The Friend,* in 1829. The visitor entering on the first floor first sees the lowest animal forms, and then ascends by galleries, representing the earth's strata in relation to their ascending forms, up to the skeletons of all the races of man. But Emerson made slight comment at the time, although he stressed the experience later, perhaps because it was a reiteration of the experience which had so thrilled him at the Garden of Plants: a visible demonstration, to a poet, of "the upheaving principle of life everywhere incipient." Then on to Carlyle, "tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command,"[90] Carlyle who watched Emerson go up the hill next day and "vanish like an angel."[91] He was mindful of Carlyle's "amiableness," but he "had met," as he wrote a few days later, "with men of far less power who had got greater insight into religious truth."[92] He had found Coleridge, the friend of his youth, "old and preoccupied," given to "commonplaces," and the "visit was rather a spectacle than a conversation."[93] And although he later came to have the deepest respect for Wordsworth,[94] "a plain, elderly, white-haired man, not prepossessing, and

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[86] See Regis Michaud, *Emerson, The Enraptured Yankee,* N. Y., 1930, 320.

[87] *J.*, III, 173.

[88] *Ibid.*, III, 175.

[89] *Ibid.*, III, 180.

[90] *Wks.*, V, 15.

[91] Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 197.

[92] *Ibid.*, I, 197.

[93] *Wks.*, V, 14.

[94] In 1847 Emerson wrote, "The Ode on Immortality is the high-water mark which the intellect has reached in this age" (*Wks.*, V, 298). Why? In this

disfigured by green goggles," obsessed with sin and the perils of democracy, Emerson "at first was near to laugh" as he declaimed his verses in his garden walk.[95]

As the American who had returned to "our old home" as a seeker for solutions to his religious problems waited for his ship at Liverpool, he reviewed his harvest. If he had been disillusioned by the seers, European scientists had reinforced his innate optimism[96] by their Victorian[97] doctrine of evolution, of an "upheaving principle of life everywhere incipient," which underlay in part Tennyson's faith that "thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs" and Browning's faith that "the best is yet to be," that this world "means intensely and means good." As Emerson was to proclaim later, "Modern science . . . generates a feeling of complacency and hope."[98] It should be borne in mind, also, that this

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Ode the man who had in *Tintern Abbey* seen nothing set above the changing "language of the sense" recorded his disillusionment with the temporal order—"Heaven lies about us in our infancy," but the man perceives the "celestial light" "fade into the light of common day"—and his reliance upon an eternal order, a "faith that looks through death," which transcends "sense and outward things." The transcendental Emerson was attuned to that "obstinate questioning of sense" (see Melvin Rader, "The Transcendentalism of William Wordsworth," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 26, 169-90), and as he believed that "all men have some access to primary truth, . . . The waters of the great deep have ingress and egress to the soul" (*Wks.*, II, 342), so Wordsworth's faith has power to make

> Our noisy years seem moments in the being
> Of the Eternal Silence. . .
> Hence in a season of calm weather
> Though inland far we be,
> Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither. . . .

[95] *Wks.*, V, 19-23.

[96] *J.*, III, 448, "I believe that the tendency of all thought is to Optimism." "All my opinions, affections, whimsies, are tinged with belief,—incline to that side." *J.*, III, 210.

[97] Leslie Stephens (*op. cit.*, 152) says, "For him evolution is rather emanation, and it does not mean a blind struggle for existence, but the regular unrolling of a divine and benevolent drama implying steady progress and perfection." In considering Emerson and science, it is highly important to place him against the science of his early life, for he would have been hostile toward many of the later developments such as determinism and the elements of caprice in the modern "Quantum Theory." In certain ways Emerson's view is akin to that of Tennyson and his doctrine of "moving circumstance/ Roll'd round by one fix'd Law." See W. S. Lilly, *Studies in Religion and Literature*, London, 1904, 38-49, on Tennyson and science. On Emerson's faith that, "if we must accept Fate, we are not less compelled to affirm liberty" (*Wks.*, VI, 4), see *J.*, II, 54, 157, 272; *J.*, III, 249-50; 253; 312, 423; *Wks.*, VII, 277. He regarded determinism as "a sty of sensualism," a "trap of so-called sciences" (*Wks.*, III, 54).

[98] *Wks.*, IV, 80.

optimism was confirmed by the American frontier spirit, by "the yet untouched continent of hope glittering with all its mountains in the vast West,"[99] and by "the development of our American internal resources, [through scientific inventions, and] the extension to the utmost of the commercial system . . . which are to modify the State, . . . giving an aspect of greatness to the Future, which the imagination fears to open."[1] I am inclined to think, however, that Emerson's optimism and his tendency to look forward and not backward were powerfully confirmed by the evolutionary doctrine of conscious animated law and a "beneficent tendency."

III

Thus, if astronomy had reinforced Emerson's faith in law, and evolution his faith in animated beneficence, he pondered while homeward bound, the meaning of ecclesiasticism and tradition. He turned to read his old friend Herschel, and concluded, "Astronomy, I thank Herschel, promises everything."[2] "I feel myself pledged . . . that Christianity is wrongly received by all such as take it for a system of doctrines, its stress being on moral truth." He concluded that "the error of religionists lies in this . . . that they are clinging to little, positive, verbal, formal versions of the moral law, and very imperfect versions, too, while the infinite laws, the laws of the Law, the great circling truths whose only adequate symbol is the material laws, the astronomy, etc., are all un-

[99] *Wks.*, I, 223. See "Emerson and the Frontier" by Ernest Marchand (*American Literature*, III, 149-174, May, 1931) and "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Iowa" by Hubert H. Hoeltze (*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXV, 236-176, Apr. 1927).

[1] *Wks.*, I, 391. See the whole essay, "The Young American," which throbs with ardent optimism. See also Lucy Hazard's development of the idea that "Transcendentalism, so far from being at variance with its age, a protest against its age, played into its hands by providing a convenient idealization of frontier characteristics" (*The Frontier in American Literature*, N. Y., 1927, 153ff.). Emerson's changing attitude toward materialism as advanced by science deserves a separate study. He wavered at times, but his final attitude in "Works and Days," is clear: "Many facts concur to show that we must look deeper for our salvation than to steam, photographs, balloons or astronomy . . . Machinery is aggressive. The weaver becomes a web, the machinist a machine. . . . The machine unmakes the man . . . Politics were never more corrupt and brutal; and Trade . . . ends in shameful defaulting, bubble and bankruptcy, all over the world . . . What have these arts [scientific invention] done for the character, for the worth of mankind? Are men better? . . . 'Tis too plain that with the material power the moral progress has not kept pace. It appears that we have not made a judicious investment" (*Wks.*, VII, 164-166).

[2] *J.*, III, 197.

observed."[3] With these laws in mind, he wished "to lop off all superfluity of tradition, and fall back on the nature of things. Science . . . is reduced to strict observation . . . Davy, Playfair, De Candolle, Black, Cuvier, LaPlace, Arago are its names."[4] His charge to young clergymen would be: "Beware of Tradition: Tradition which embarrasses life and falsifies all teaching."[5] The enunciation of spiritual laws, he concludes, "awakens the feeling of the moral sublime. . . They resemble great circles in astronomy . . . These laws are Ideas of the Reason[6] . . . (which) is not to be distinguished from the divine Essence."[7]

Such was Emerson's state of mind during the years when he wrote his first "three challenges." *Nature* (1836) is a plea for "a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition,"[8] a defence of the doctrine of immanence: if astronomy and evolution symbolize, in conjunction with Platonism, a progressive "unity in variety,"[9] an "animated law"[10] which is God, in proportion, he said, as I harmonize my conduct with this unity, this law, "the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God."[11] As he had written in the *Journals* just before, "God is in every man. God is in Jesus, but let us not magnify any of the vehicles, as we magnify the Infinite Law itself."[12] Such was Emerson's state of mind when he wrote *The American Scholar* (1837), a declaration of independence from books and institutions which "look backward and not forward."[13] In the scientist Emerson valued not so much the study of unique and mutable phenomena as "the perceiving that these objects are not chaotic, . . . but have a law which is also a law of the human

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[3] *Ibid.*, III, 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 90ff.

[5] *Ibid*, III, 420.

[6] See Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 218, for Emerson's early distinction between Reason and the Understanding, a distinction which he derives from Milton as well as from "Coleridge and the Germans." See also Harrison, *op. cit.*, 296, on the Reason as related to Platonism in Emerson, and see the incisive analysis in F. T. Thompson (*op. cit.*)

[7] *J.*, III, 235.

[8] *Wks.*, I, 3.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, 43.

[10] *Ibid.*, IX, 315.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 10.

[12] *J.*, III, 324.

[13] *Wks.*, I, 90.

mind."[14] So in the literary scholar, a genuine book being the organic expression of one who has risen above the uniqueness of himself and his age to the plane of "the universal mind,"[15] Emerson valued not so much an antiquarian concern with the unique and mutable particulars of literary history as the perception of the extent to which the book reveals "the universal mind," the human law.[16] Thus, it is of the highest importance to note, Emerson has no hostility toward the past when it is "well used,"[17] when it is subjected to "creative reading,"[18] when, genius being not idiosyncratically "original" in the romantic sense[19] but rather "a larger imbibing of the common heart,"[20] "the great poet makes *us* feel our *own* wealth"[21] and *we* are "born into the great, the *universal* mind."[22] Finally, the scientific background helps to explain *The Divinity School Address* (1838). After contemplating scientific laws, Emerson "repudiates the unnecessary traditions, . . . because men see that the personalities of Christendom and its ecclesiastical history are a pile of draff and jackstraws beside the immutable laws of moral nature."[23] Thus he begins the *Address* on the theme of "the laws which traverse the universe. . . Behold these out-running laws. . . many, yet one."[24] The evolutionists, in conjunction with Plato, had helped to teach him the doctrine

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 85-86.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 108.

[16] The essay on *History*, formulated during 1835 and 1838, elaborates the doctrine of the One and the Many in relation to the use of the past. "Let it suffice," concludes Emerson, "that in the light of these two facts, namely, that the mind is One, and that nature is its correlative, history is to be read and written" (*Wks.*, II, 38). Emerson's literary theory has been brilliantly expounded by Professor Norman Foerster in *American Criticism* (Boston, 1928). *The American Scholar*, by the same author, is a cogent criticism, in the light of an Emersonian devotion to the One, the unchanging and universal humanity, of a disproportionate contemporary concern with the changing aspects of literary history.

[17] *Wks.*, I, 89.

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 93.

[19] See Paul Kaufman, "Heralds of Original Genius," in *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Cambridge, 1926) and H. H. Clark, "The Romanticism of Edward Young" (*Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, Vol. XXIV, 1-45, 1929), for a brief survey of the rise and significance of the doctrine of "original genius."

[20] *Wks.*, II, 288.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 289.

[22] *Ibid.*, II, 296.

[23] *J.*, IV, 96.

[24] *Wks.*, I, 120.

of a universal type.[25] As he said later, in connection with chemistry, there is "nothing fast but those invisible cords which we call laws on which all is strung, [which] show their well-known virtue through every variety, be it animal, or plan, or planet... All multiplicity rushes to be resolved into unity."[26] "God is unity, but always works in variety."[27] It is in relation, then, to this scientific concept of depersonalized, immediate, immutable, and universal law, touched perhaps by Oriental mysticism,[28] that Emerson affirms the "two errors"[29] in the administration of historical Christianity. The first is "an exaggeration of the personal. . . The soul knows no persons."[30] The second is that "the Moral Nature, that Law of laws whose revelations introduce greatness—yea, God himself"—is spoken of "as if God were dead."[31] His plea is for the recognition of a diety (1) of "conscious law,"[32] transcending the limitations of perosnality,[33] and (2) immediately revealed to the eye of Reason. The student of Newton and his divine "Being incorporeal" concludes this epoch-making *Address* looking forward, as we have seen, to "the new Teacher that shall follow so far those shining laws that he shall see them come full circle; shall see their rounding complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror

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[25] To the group of critics of whom Professor V. L. Parrington was the most gifted spokesman, "The apothesis of individualism . . . was the gospel of Emerson . . . It was the same revolutionary conception . . . that Ronsseau had come upon" (*The Romantic Revolution in America*, N. Y., 1927, p. 390). But Rousseau had proclaimed, "Je ne suis fait comme aucun de ceux que p'ai vus; j'ose croire n'être fait comme aucun de ceux qui existent." Whereas Emerson concludes "God is the Universal Mind" (*J.*, IV, 61), and "Self-reliance, the height and perfection of man, is reliance on God" (*Wks.*, XI, 236). Hence Rousseau seeks to depart from normality and Emerson to achieve normality. Thus, in a sense, Emerson is radically conventional in the quality of his individualism.

[26] *Wks.*, VIII, 5-7.

[27] *J.*, IV, 71. See "Each and All" in connection with *J.*, III, 373 and Coleridge's *The Friend* (p. 461) on "universal law" in relation to "Each to All, and of all to each" (F. T. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 60).

[28] See F. I. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge, 1930) and *Wks.*, I, 126, and IV, 49.

[29] *Wks.*, I, 128.

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 130.

[31] *Ibid.*, I, 134.

[32] *Ibid.*, IX, 59.

[33] "Is God a person? No. That is a contradiction; the personality of God. A person is finite personality, is finiteness" (*J.*, IV, 185). "But the angels will worship virtue and truth, not gathered into a person, but inly seen in the perspective of their own progressive being. They see the dream and the interpretation of the world in the faith that God is within them" (*J.*, IV, 54).

of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy.''[34]

IV

Within the narrow limits of this study I have been able barely to approach, in considering Emerson's debt to science, one of many problems. Let me indicate a few of the avenues which remain to be explored. The last forty-four years of his life, in relation to contemporary science, remain to be studied in detail,[35] with due attention to the chronological relation between the influence of science and that of other factors. To what extent, for example, did Emerson's early botanizing and his inductive observation of nature encourage his concrete illustrations and nature descriptions upon whose rare beauty his appeal as a man-of-letters in no small measure depends? To what extent did scientific analogies and illustrations give pattern to his thought and aid him in his endeavor ''to give to moral nature an aspect of mathematical science''? If ''Time and Space relations vanish as laws are known,''[36] to what extent was this doctrine derived not only from Kant but also from science? What is the exact history of Emerson's changing attitude toward the scientific inventions and machinery which exploited the material resources of a frontier land? To what extent did the material destiny of America reinforce his optimism? To what extent did it kindle his critical idealism? To what extent did faith in evolution encourage his indifference to social reform? To what extent was Emerson interested in pseudo-science and demonology? To what extent did the clear-sighted common-sense and honest scepticism of the scientific method, in conjunction with Emerson's Yankee and Puritan heritage, render him—in Holmes's phrase—a ''winged Franklin,''[37] giving balance to a character which might otherwise have wandered as ''an in-

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[34] *Wks.*, I, 151.

[35] See the suggestive comments in Lewis Mumford's *The Golden Day* (N. Y., 1926, 103-104) and in C. Cestre, ''Le Romantisme d'Emerson'' (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, VII), especially pp. 5ff., and 117ff.

[36] *Wks.*, I, 39.

[37] In Holmes' poem ''At the Saturday Club.'' Emerson defined Prudence as the ''law of shows'' which ''recognizes the co-presence of other laws'' (*Wks.*, II, 222). His practice of his central doctrine that ''we need only obey'' (*Wks.*, II, 139) laws, both terrestrial and celestial, suggests his contrast to those who would derive from him their gospel of revolt and irresponsibility.

effectual angel'' in the German forests of the Blue Flower and Coleridgean-Swedenborgian moonshine?[38] If Emerson frowned upon a nostalgic escape to ''the remote, the romantic,''[39] if ''the invariable mark of wisdom is to see the miraculous in the common,''[40] to what extent was this attitude inspired by his scientific faith that ''the universe is represented in an atom?''[41] To what extent did scientific theories such as those of the early Victorian evolutionists reinforce his faith in beneficence and encourage dubious explanations of evil as compensatory and fragmentary parts of a great beneficent cycle? To what extent did Emerson temper his faith in a beneficent evolution with a recognition of innate evil[42] and of permanent elements in man which are distinctively human?[43] To what extent did science suggest a *quantitative* dualism between changing natural phenomena and natural law ''which changes not''?[44] What are the precise relations between the ''unity in variety'' of the early evolutionists (unity of type and variety of form) and the Unity and Variety of Plato? To what extent did Emerson reconcile a scientific quantitative dualism with a Christian[45] and classical *qualitative* dualism between the ''law for man'' and the ''law for thing,''[46] between the ''spiritual man'' and the ''natural man,''—a dualism ''ever present,

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[38] He recognized a ''morbid'' element in unbalanced mysticism.

[39] *Wks.*, I, 111.

[40] *Ibid.*, I, 74.

[41] *Ibid.*, II, 297.

[42] Evidence regarding Emerson's neglected concern with evil has been collected and interpreted by Chester Jorgenson in a study entitled ''Emerson's Paradise under the Shadow of Swords,'' to be published shortly in *The Philological Quarterly.*

[43] It is important to remember that Emerson concludes, ''I see plainly the fact that there is no progress to the race, that the progress is of individuals'' (*J.*, IV, 158). ''How, then, since each must go over every line of ground, can there be any progress of the species'' (*J.*, IV, 306)? ''The only progress ever known was of the individual'' (*J.*, IV, 85). If evolution reinforced some of Emerson's doctrines, it is btu fair to note the chasm between Emerson and modern behaviorists suggested by his prayer, ''God defend me from ever looking at a man as an animal'' (*J.*, III, 221), a paraphrase not of Darwin but of Plato.

[44] *Wks.*, III, 72. See also the conclusion of ''Illusions,'' *Wks.*, VI, 325.

[45] Emerson's indifference toward the ''dead forms'' of ecclesiasticism should not blind us to his immense veneration for the Christian tradition and for Christian poets such as Milton. Ultimately, his concern as an idealist is not with *material fact but with ethical value.* Cabot (*op. cit.*, I, 248) defined Emersonianism as ''that remarkable outburst of Romanticism on Puritan ground.'' See also *CHAL.* I, 347).

[46] *Wks.*, IX, 78.

though variously denominated''?[47] Adequate answers to these difficult questions could be given in nothing less than a solid book.[48] It might be a book, however, which would modify, in part at least, the present conventional tendency to regard Emerson as a mystical and irresponsible traveller in realms of Whim, a scorner of culture and tradition, an individualistic champion of revolt, and a naturalistic monist or pantheist drifting supinely on a sea of change, blandly affirming an impossible optimism bred by a refusal to confront an inner conflict between appetite and aspiration.

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[47] *J.*, III, 377.

[48] It has seemed best, in a pioneer study of this sort, to make the present paper exclusively interpretative rather than judicial. In papers now in preparation I hope to deal critically with the questions raised in the last paragraph.

DIE VOLKSLIED-ELEMENTE IN JULIUS MOSENS LYRIK.

Zur Erinnerung an des Dichters Geburstag am 8. Juli 1803.

A. J. F. ZIEGLSCHMID
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Da es vornehmste Aufgabe des Deutschunterrichts im Ausland ist, die Schüler und Studenten mit bleibenden, größeren Werken der deutschen Literatur bekannt zu machen, ist es leicht begreiflich, daß man Julius Mosen in den Vereinigten Staaten nur wenig kennt; denn er ist kein großer Dichter,[1]—wenn man ihn auch zu seiner Lebenszeit als einen der bedeutenden deutschen Geister betrachtete.[2] Trotzdem verwandten Literaturbeflissene in Deutschland des öfteren Zeit und Energie, den Werken Mosens nähere Untersuchung oder eingehendere Würdigung angedeihen zu lassen, wie die verschiedenen Doktordissertationen, Zeitschriftenartikel und Zeitungsaufsätze veranschaulichen.[3]

In den Vereinigten Staaten kennt man Mosen fast nur durch

[1] Was Friedrich Hebbel (Literaturbriefe aus dem Jahre 1859; in R. M. Werner, *F. Hebbel*, Sämtl. Werke [Verlag B. Behr, Berlin, 1904], Bd. 12, S. 223) in seiner Besprechung von Mosens *Der Sohn des Fürsten* sagt, dürfte mit wenigen Ausnahmen auf fast alle Werke Mosens passen: „. . . das Drama (Der Sohn des Fürsten) . . . ist . . . Jedermann zu empfehlen, der den Umgang mit jenen Geistern liebt, die das Schöne zwar nicht in seiner ganzen Glorie hinzustellen vermögen, deren Schöpfungen jedoch, wie matte Regenbogen mit erlöschenden Farben, daran erinnern."

[2] Vgl. Bruno Günther, *Julius Mosen im Urteil seiner Zeit* (im Plauener Sonntags-Anzeiger, Nr. 2542, 30. Sept. 1928, S. 3), wo es nach einem Aufsatz des „Adorfer Wochenblattes" aus dem Jahre 1837 heißt: „. . . ein Mann (Mosen), . . der nach dem Urteil befähigter Kunstrichter unter unseren jetzt lebenden Dichtern den ersten Rang mit einnimmt. . ."

[3] Vgl. Ph. Henß, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis von Julius Mosens Jugendentwicklung*; München, 1903 (Diss.); W. Mahrholz, *Julius Mosens Prosa.* Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Romantik und des Jungen Deutschlands; Verlag A. Duncker, Weimar, 1912; K. A. Lindner, *Die Abstammung Julius Mosens*; Würzburg, 1922 (noch ungedruckte Diss.; kurze Zusammenstellung in *Mitteilungen des Roland*, 10. Jhrg., April, 1925, Nr. 4, S. 32 f); Felix Wittmer, *Studien zu Julius Mosens Lyrik*; München, 1924 (noch ungedruckte Diss.; Kapitel 2 und 3 davon unter dem Titel *Julius Mosens Lyrik. Die Entwicklung bis 1830* im Vogtl. Jahrbuch, 3. Jhrg., 1925, S. 4-18 (hrsg. von Dr. E. Pietsch, Plauen i. Vogtl.).—Als hervorragendster Mosenkenner und -forscher muß be-

einzelne Gedichte, die sich in Gedichts- oder Liedersammlungen[4] befinden. Es ist besonders sein *Andreas Hofer* („Zu Mantua in Banden"),[5] der ihn hier vor gänzlicher Vergessenheit rettet, obwohl wenigstens noch *Der Trompeter an der Katzbach*[6] („Von Wunden ganz bedecket") und *Der Kreuzschnabel* („Als der Heiland litt am Kreuze") beachtet zu werden verdiente.

Vorliegende Skizze setzt sich zum Ziel, Mosens gesamte Lyrik, die aus schlichten, anmutigen und stimmungsvollen Natur-, Liebes- und politischen Liedern besteht, auf ihr Verhältnis zum deutschen Volkslied etwas näher zu untersuchen. Welche Volksliedelemente bieten sich uns darin dar?

Zunächst zeigt schon die Wahl der besungenen Stoffe einen starken Anklang ans Volkslied. Die in Mosens Lyrik stets wiederkehrenden Motive sind die des einfachen, sinnlich-naiven Volkes: der *Liebe* mit ihrem Glück und Schmerz, mit ihrer Sehnsucht, Treue und Untreue wird in knappem Stil Ausdruck verliehen, wie etwa in den folgenden charakteristischen Zeilen (man vergleiche hierzu noch Der Mond und Sie, Brennende Liebe, Am Morgen, Vor Liebe u. v. a.):

Der Abschied: "Ach Scheiden von der Lieben,
Das tut dem Herzen weh."
An Sie: "Wohl kommt der Lenz, doch mir ist weh."
Botschaft: "Mondenschein, stiller Mondenschein,
Eile zu ihrmen Kämmerlein!
Du sollst sie oftmals grüßen . . ."
Nachtlied: "Dürft ich mit dir dort oben gehn,
Du träumerischer Mond . . ."

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sonders Prof. H. Schuller, Plauen i Vogtl., erwähnt werden, dessen zahlreiche Studien über Mosen in der *Z.f.d.U., Lit. Wochenschrift,* im *Euphorion* usw. erschienen sind.

[4] Vgl. H. G. Fiedler, *Das Oxforder Buch Deutscher Dichtung,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1920, S. 351: Hofers Tod; *Deutsches Liederbuch f. amerik. Studenten,* hrsg. im Auftrage d. Germanist. Ges. d. Staatsuniv. von Wisc. (D. C. Heath Co.), 1907, S. 62: Andreas Hofer; J. T. Hatfield, *German Lyrics and Ballads* (D. C. Heath Co.), s. a., S. 67: Andreas Hofer.—Dasselbe Gedicht befindet sich in noch einigen anderen Anthologien.

[5] Vgl. meine Studie *Das Andreas-Hofer-Lied: Zur Geschichte seiner Melodie* in Modern Philology, Nr. 3, Febr. 1929, S. 327-36.

[6] Vgl. den Tagebuch-Eintrag von Friedrich Hebbel (cf. R. M. Werner, *op. cit.,* Bd. 1, S. 393 [1755]) unterm 28. Okt. 1839: „Wunderbar schön ist Julius Julius Mosens Gedicht: ‚Der Trompeter an der Katzbach' [Abschrift davon folgt: 1758]. Dies Gedicht ist unvergänglich!" (Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich G. Büttner, *Julius Mosen im deutschen Liede,* Vogtl. Jahrbuch, 6. Jhrg., 1928, S. 20.)—Das Gedicht selbst befindet sich in den Ausgew. Werken, hrsg. von M. Zschommler. (Verlag A. Strauch Leipzig, 1899), 2. Bd., S. 107.—Zur folgenden Untersuchung wurde die Zschommlersche Ausgabe, 2. Bd., benützt.

Da drüben: "Möcht' ich mit dem Vogel singen
Und zu dem Rehlein gehn,
Da drüben heimlich lauschend
Durch's kleine Fenster sehn,
Da drüben!"

Ein anderes dem Volkslied eigenes Motiv kehrt in Mosens Lyrik immer wieder, *das Zerspringen des Herzens*:

Des Knaben Sehnsucht: "Das Herz will mir zerspringen . . ."
Der eiserne Heinrich: "O, laß dein Herz zerspringen . . ."
Der Trompeter an der Katzbach: "Das Herz ist ihm zersprungen . . ."
Der Schweigsame: "Mein Herz, daz will zerspringen . . ."
Der vorlesende Schüler: "Mein Herz wollt' mir zerspringen . . ."
Polonia: ". . . und ihm das Herz zersprang."

Nach Art des Volksliedes wird *der Sarg oder die Gruft beschönend umschrieben*:

Heimkehr: "Über meines Vaters Bett
Weht ein junger Tannenbaum."
Lied von dem traurigen Knaben: "Die fernen Totenglocken
Erklangen wie im Traum:
Es hat für dich, du Armer!
Ihr Bettlein keinen Raum!"

Volksliedartig ist auch die *alliterierende Beschreibung des Wetters*, wenn Mosen sagt:

Dezembermorgen: "Doch einsam hin durch *W*etter, Schnee und *W*ind . . ."
Das sterbende Kind: "Die *W*olke flieht, es weht der *W*ind . . ."

Des öfteren flicht Mosen in Volksliedweise *Aberglaube oder Volksglaube* in seine Lieder ein:

Gott und Vaterland: "Wer abtrünnig seinem Gotte
Und dem alten Vaterland,
Dem dorret das Herz im Leibe,
Aus dem Grab wächst ihm die Hand."[7]

Der Kreuzschnabel: "Wer sich im Wald beschädigt,
Dem sang er zu die Wund',
Und selbst die Fieberkranken
Machte sein Lied gesund."

[7] Als sichtbares Zeichen eines begangenen Unrechts oder Verbrechens wird das Motiv der aus dem Grabe wachsenden Hand neben anderen auch verwendet von Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell* III, iii, Walter: die Bäume seien gebannt . . . und wer sie schädige, dem wachse die Hand heraus zum Grabe;—von G Hauptmann, *Das Friedensfest*, 1. Vorgang, Frau Scholz: . . . die Hand, die sich gegen den eigenen Vater erhebt . . . aus dem Grabe wachsen solche Hände;—von Wildenbruch in seiner Novelle *Neid*.

Vision: "Er will ein Herz, ein schuldlos Herzlein haben,
Denn diesem dienen muß der Geist der Erde;
Er will heraus sein totes Kindlein graben,
Damit das Glück ihm dienstbar werde."

Eine andere Eigenschaft erscheint sowohl im Volkslied als auch bei Mosen, die Scherer in seiner Poetik mit *Technik des Erratenlassens* bezeichnet,—der Zug zum rätselhaften oder sprunghaften Stil. So singt der Dichter:

Polonia: "Ihr Heldenmann ging wiederum,
Als ihn die Freiheit rief,
Doch alle beide sind nun stumm,
Die Weichsel ist so tief.

Ihr junger Sohn im Walde stritt—
Es ist die Welt so groß—
Ihr Sohn, den sie vom Galgen schnitt,
Er ruht auf ihrem Schoß."

Des Vogel Greif: "Himmelhohe Felsen ragen,
Heinrich hält den Schwertknauf fest,
Hat den Greif samt Brut erschlagen
Mitten drin in seinem Nest."

Hierher gehören noch Vision, Lied vom traurigen Knaben, Das Brautgemach, Stimme vom Berge, Donay der Verräter u. v. a.

Der volksliedhafte, oft *allegorische Gebrauch von Blumen* fehlt natürlich auch in Mosens Lyrik nicht, wie die folgenden Zeilen bezeugen:

Vor Liebe: "Zwei glühend rote Nelken . . ."
Der Abschied: "Ein Zweiglein Rosmarin . . ."
Dezembermorgen: "Und wollt das Schicksal nicht den Lobeerkranz,
Versagen nur die Myrte und die Rose . . ."
Frühsommer: "Und wie Mädchenlippen glühn Mohne . . ."
Haland der Junge: "Dort sitzt sie mit der Rosenkron' . . ."
Heimkehr: "Eine Blume weiß und rot . . ."
Das Brautgemach: "Mit dem kleinen Myrtenkranze . . ."
Die Grabblume: "Da wächst heraus eine Blume rot . . ."
Das Hänflingsnest: "Feldröschen, wie so purpurhell . . ."
Die Rosenknospe: "Doch an dem nächsten Morgen
War hell und purpurrot
Das Röslein aufgeblühet,
Der Knabe bleich und tot."

Außer durch die eben angeführten stofflichen Motive befruchtete das Volkslied Mosens Lyrik noch durch formale Elemente. So findet man die dem Volkslied charakteristischen *Verkleinerungsendungen* in schier unzähligen Beispielen, wie etwa in Kämmerlein, Röslein, Blümlein, Zweiglein, Vöglein usw. Daneben treten *Wortverkürzungen oder -verlängerungen* aus metrischen Gründen wie im Volkslied auf: "Wär' die Nixe nimmer müd' (Die Nixe), Als

wär' dort oben an der Stell' . . .'' (Der Alpengang); Kreuzesschnabel heißt das Vöglein . . .'' (Der Kreuzschnabel).—Ein anderes äußerst häufiges Volksliedelement in Mosens Lyrik ist die Interjektion *Ach*!: ''Ach wüßt' ich nicht wie Lieben tut'' (Der Alpengang); ''Ach Scheiden von der Lieben . . .'' (Der Abschied). —Ebenso verraten den Einfluß des Volksliedes die *direkten Anreden* wie ''Lieb Kindlein, komm heraus!'' oder Ausdrücke wie ''*Viel tausendmal* grüßen'' (In der Villa reale zu Neapel). Entweder als Flickwort oder als Verstärkung des darauffolgenden Wortes tritt *gar* auf, das dem Volkslied eignet:

Rosenblüte: ''Das Röslein gar verstohlen in seiner Knospe sitzt . . .''
An Sie: ''Wie ist mein Liebchen gar so hold . . .''
Des Waffenschmieds Fenster: ''Mit gar glühend hellem Blitze . . .''
Vorüber: ''Gar lange möcht' ich schauen . . .''
Der Zecher: Als Doktrinär: ''(Liebesschmerz) hat gar grausam umgebracht . . .''
Als Raisonneur: ''Hab' es gar zu gern getan . . .''
Die Rosenknospe: ''Ein Schein gar licht und klar . . .''
Andreasnacht: ''Da ging der Müller gar schnelle . . .
Gar schnell und ärgerlich . . .''

Dem Sprachschatz des Volksliedes ist noch *wohl* entnommen, das bei Mosen nur als Flickwort gebraucht wird:

Berglied: ''Was wohl im Glänzen eurer Augen stecket . . .''
K. M. v. Weber: ''Wohl todesmatt sitzt er in fremder Klause . . .''
Der Kreuzschnabel, 1. Gesang: ''Wohl oft in frommer Ruh'. . .''
4. Gesang: ''Wohl in Sonnen- und Mondenschein . . .''

Bewußt *altertümelnde volksliedartige Wörter* finden sich in der *Andreasnacht*, die hier vermerkt seien:

''Die erste satzt sich hin und aß,
Das drinnen in der Schüssel was.''[8]

Auch die dem Volkslied eigenen *syntaktischen Umstellungen* kommen in Mosens Gedichten vor:

Der Kreuzschnabel, 3. Gesang:
''Kreuzesschnabel heißt ein Vöglein; . . .
Singt es tief im Fichtenwalde.''
Der Alpengang: ''Röslein rot . . .''
Brennende Liebe: ''In meinem Gärtchen lachet
Manch Blümlein klar und rot . . .''

[8] Wenn der Dichter in seiner ''Warnung'' schreibt
''Vor den hellen Rosenblüten,
Die wo an dem Fenster stehn . . .'', so ist diese im Vogtland geläufige Reflexiform mher auf Dialekt—als auf Volksliedeinfluß zurückzuführen.

Dazu macht Mosen Gebrauch vom sog. *Volkssuperlativ,* wie etwa in "Gott und Vaterland": "Dies war meines Vaters
Letztes, *allerletztes* Wort."

Die *Wiederaufnahme eines Satzteiles* durch *der, die, das,* wie sie im Volkslied geläufig ist ("euer Sohn, *und der* muß sterben"), ist Mosen ebenfalls nicht unbekannt:

Meine Eiche: "Die Vöglein in dem Walde,
Die singen allzugleich."
"Der Baum auf grüner Höhe,
Der ist mir Haus and Hof."
Vorüber: "Zwei lichte Augensterne,
Die geben hellen Schein."

Der Stabreim spielt in Mosens Lyrik genau wie im Volkslied eine große Rolle. Nur die wichtigsten Alliterationen seien hier genannt:

"Will *st*erben wie ich *st*ehe,
Will *st*erben wie ich *st*ritt."
" . . . aus *W*olken und *W*ind . . ."
". . . durch *W*asser und *W*ind . . ."
". . . durch *W*olken und *W*etter . . ."
". . . im *W*etter und *W*ind . . ."
". . . es *w*ehen und *w*üten die *W*inde all . . ."
". . . von *W*ind und *W*olken *w*ild um*w*ittert . . ."

Ein anderes Volksliedelement ist der *Refrain,* dessen sich Mosen des öfteren bedient, wie z. B. die Gedichte Ist kein Dahlberg da?, Der Säbelschleifer, Aus der Fremde usw. zeigen.

Neben den bisher genannten Volksliedelementen pflegte Mosen noch der *Wortwiederholungen.* Das einfachste Kunstmittel, durch Wiederholung einem Gedanken größeren Nachdruck zu verleihen, ist die *Epizeuxis,* das mehrfache Setzen eines Satzes oder Satzgliedes in unmittelbarer Folge. Im Volkslied ist diese Art Wortwiederholung ziemlich oft vorhanden. Einige Belege aus Mosens Gedichten sind etwa:

Vision: "O Vater, gerne, gerne."
Letzter Trost: "Weiter, weiter mit Vertrauen!"
Die Windesbraut? "Faß Mut! Faß Mut!"
Ammerngesang: "Wie, wie hab' ich dich lieb!"
Offenbarung der Liebe: "Mit Bedacht—mit Bedacht?"
"Und in dem Grab, im Grab ist Ruh'."
"Und jede, jede liebende Natur."
"Das ist, das ist die Liebe."

Eine andere von Mosen und dem Volkelied oft gebrauchte Wortfigur is die *Anaphora,* die mehrere aufeinanderfolgende Sätze durch

einen gemeinsamen Satzanfang wirksam verknüpft, wie folgende Verse zeigen:

Fliegende Blätter: "Dort liegt die Welt, die jedem weh getan,
Dort, wo . . ."
Der eiserne Heinrich: "Ich weiß von alter Sage,
Von einem treuen Mann,
Ich weiß von seiner Klage . . ."
Zuruf: "Noch wölbet sich der Himmel oben,
Noch braust das Meer in Wogen auf,
Noch hängt die Welt in ihren Kloben,
Noch gehet alles seinen Lauf."

Mosen verwendet noch wie auch das Volkslied die *Anadiplosis*, die durch Wiederaufnahme des Schlusses des vorhergehenden Satzes den Gedanken fortführt. Das gemeinsame Glied erleidet bisweilen eine leichte Veränderung:

Der eiserne Heinrich: "Es trägt *drei Eisenringe*,
Drei Ringe um das Herz . . ."

Auch des *Epanados* weiß sich Mosen zu bedienen, wie man ebenfalls viele Beispiele im Volkslied finden kann. Durch jenes Umstellen der wiederholten Wörter wird der Gesamteindruck verstärkt:

Die Aloe: "Nun *drängt und treibt* es wild hervor
In feuerheißem Schmerze,
Nun *treibt und drängt* es hoch empor
Die flammende Blumenkerze."
Das Waldweib, 1. Gesang: Des Knaben Sehnsucht:
"Der Hirte *horcht und stehet*,
Der Hirte *steht und lauscht*."

Endlich sei die *Annomination* erwähnt. Sie wiederholt dasselbe Wort, jedoch in veränderter Form, wie z. B.

"Bild an Bilder; Lipp' an Lippe; Wolk' auf Wolke; mit Hand und Händen."

Mit diesen kurzen Ausführungen möge die Untersuchung der Lyrik Mosens auf ihre Volksliedelemente hin nicht als endgültig abgeschlossen betrachtet werden. Sie dürften aber gezeigt haben, wie tief unser Dichter im Volkstum wurzelt und wie oft er aus dem lebensprudelnden Born deutschen Volksgutes schöpft, ohne daß damit gesagt sei, daß aus diesem Grunde seine eigne Persönlichkeit als Dichter ins Unklare verschwömme; denn gerade ein Vergleich mit den deutschen Volksliedern vermag die künstlerische Selbständigkeit und dichterische Eigenart Mosens zu zeigen.

A SHORT STUDY OF THE VOWELS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE SHUTTLEWORTH ACCOUNTS (1582 - 1621)

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II*

PHONOLOGY OF THE LONG VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

ME. [a:][1]

16. Isolative Development

1. *e* for *ā*

peper 10: *gresynge* 19: *sletter* (slater) 35: *semonde* 22: *weghe* 55: *kneves* 60, 68: *med* (made) 48: *glesynge* 107: *fecinge* (facing-stone) 129: *sket* (fish) 116.

2. *ea* for *ā*

weaghe 38: *treasies* 13: *jeate* (gate) 97: *yeate* 152, 167: *keasse* 66: *skeat* (fish) 108: *leate* 109: *lease* (lace) 116: *speades* 134.

3. *ae* for *ā*

aelle 16, 29, 47.

4. Reverse-spellings: *ā* for *e*

bane (bean) 33, 91, 143: *Dane* (Dean) 8, 17, 18: *baste* (beast) 2: *Aster*[2] (Easter) 15, 25, 26, 51, 65, 95: *extrates*[3] (estreats) 98.

The following spellings, though they have only an indirect bearing on the development of the present vowel, may be considered here:

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* Part I of this study appeared in the *Philological Quarterly* for January 1931 (X, 1), pp. 10-26.

[1] Throughout this and the following section I have endeavoured to avoid confusion between the actual phonetic value and the literal symbol by writing the former in brackets, while I indicate the latter by means of italics.

[2] Cp. Zachrisson, *Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700*, Göteborg, 1913, p. 57. If Zachrisson's theory that this spelling represents a shortened form be correct, the above has no value as evidence.

[3] *Ibid.*

1. *ai* for *ā*

lainterne 13: *waygies* 141: *baycon* 141: *spayed* 17: *wayter*[4] 151: *paystrie* 147: *dayes*[5] (dace-fish) 112: *payvar* (paver) 157: *slaiter* 187: *plaine* (plane) 204: *abaited* 228: *weygies* 27, 38.

2. *ā* for *ai, ei*

wast 100: *wastcoat* 230: *rased* 4: *nale* 4: *bates* (baits) 31, 108: *wane* 43, 108: *male* (mail) 107: *balyffe* 49: *pamente* 59: *frachted*[6] 53: *demane*[7] 154: *panes* (pains) 108: *granes* 10: *ather* (either) 50.

3. *ē* for *ai*

plester 45: *mestier* (ME. maister) 4: *neles* 5: *nelekins* 35: *belyffe* 29: *pemente* 59: *detened*[8] 15: *medes* (maids) 28: *resciones*[9] (raisins) 41: *contenynge*[10] 45: *remenethe*[11]: *penes* 74: *strener* 117: *strenyer* 73: *memed* 122: *nelles* 133, 131: *resinges* 145, 156: *renie* (rein) 205.

4. *ea* for *ai*

pleane 110: *meades* 113: *leade* (laid) 122: *cheans* 175: *reasons* (raisins) 210, 213: *neale* 13: *wean* (wane) 108.

5. Reverse-spellings: *ai, ei* for *ē*

maylle (grain) 13: *peyes* 17: *Dayene* (Dean) 30: *feyd* 47: *leydinge, leyedinge* 11, 47: *heides*[12] (heads) 76: *weyver* (weaver) 84: *weyvinge* 84: *wayvinge* 114: *wheylles* 128: *weydde* (weed) 128: *meylles* (repast) 144: *heyringes* 104: *hayringes* 207: *sheytte* 152: *feild* 237.

These spellings show: (1) that ME. [*a*:] had undoubtedly been raised, (2) that ME. [*a*:] and ME. [*ai*], [ei] had been levelled under one development, and (3) that there was an *approximation*[13] between this development and ME. *ē*.

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[4] Cp. Modern Lancs. [we:tə]

[5] ME. darse (O. Fr. dars) with loss of *-r* and compensatory lengthening.

[6] ME. *freyt, frayt*; later *freght*.

[7] Possibly from a ME. *demane* (Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

[8] Possibly from the ME. *detene* which was influenced by Anglo-Norman.

[9] Confusion between ME. *reisin* and ME. *resoun, reisun*?

[10] ME. *contene* (from A.N.)?

[11] ME. *remene* (from A.N.)? .Cp. Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[12] The modern Lancashire [eid] presupposes some such long Early New English form.

[13] Only *approximation*, not *identification*, as the further history of ME.

A study of the other front vowels shows that ME. [e:], the tense sound, had undoubtedly gained the stage [i:]; that ME. [ɐ:], the slack sound, seems to have been in the process of being diphthongised from the historical stage [ɐ:]; and that ME. [a:] had a clear path for development as far as the stage [ɐ:]. There are thus two possibilities for ME. [a:]; either it had become [æ:] or [ɐ:]. In actual fact, both sounds are possibilities. In certain districts (of which the D.22 seems to have been one) vowels which remained in or had attained to the positions [ɐ:] and [ɒ:] were attacked by the diphthongisation-tendency which Luick, its discoverer, terms *Abstumpfung* (i.e. *Blunting*).[14] There are but few traces of any such phenomenon in the above spellings: *aelle* 16, 29, 47 seems fairly certain;[15] others are probably hidden beneath the ambiguous spellings *weaghe, treasies jeate, keasse, skeat, leate, lease, speades*[16] above (2); a few possible examples after *w-* are given below (17). On the other hand, there is certain evidence that ME. [ɐ:], [ɒ:] were already diphthongised (20, 25 below). This being so, it follows, from *aelle*, etc., that a few words at least of the ME. [a:] class had already gained the stage [ɐ:].

For the remainder, other considerations apply. Had ME. [a:] in general attained the [ɐ:] stage while Abstumpfung was in progress, it would have become [e.ə] and eventually have fallen together with ME. [ɐ:] which had also become [e. ə]. But, as the modern D.22 dialects show,[17] the two sounds have remained dis-

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(ɑ:) and ME (e:) in both Received Standard and the D.22 dialects plainly shows.

[14] *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1913-30, 495 ff. The origins of this phenomenon are still obscure, and the conditions under which it took place still more so. It seems to have set in during the closing decades of the 16th century; it is indicated unmistakably by Gill (1621) as a feature of some Northern dialects. Briefly stated, it consists of a diphthongisation of surviving ME. [e:] and [ɒ:], and to a certain extent of ME. [a:] when it had gained the stage [e:], to the sounds [eə], [ɒə]. From these points, the rapid action of dissimilation carried the diphthongs to [i.ə], [u.ə], where, in the D.22 and D.21, they remain at present (cp. Hargreaves, *Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington*, pp. 39ff., 43 ff.; and Schilling, *Grammar of the Dialect of Oldham*, pp. 27 ff., 40 ff.). In neither dialect is extant anything more than a mere trace of the workings of Abstumpfung on ME. [a:]: [i.əmz] for *hames* and [ni.əm], [ne.əm] for *name* seem to be the only examples.

[15] For similar spellings, interpreted as showing a diphthongised pronunciation, see Handke, A., *Die Mundart von Mittel-Yorkshire um 1700*, Darmstadt, 1912, pp. 53, 56.

[16] Cp. Mason, George, *Grammaire Angloise*, edited by R. Brotanek, Halle, 1905, p. 13.

[17] Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 39.

tinct; the former as [e:] and the latter as [i.ə]. Consequently, the great majority of words which had original ME. [*a*:] must have been at a lower stage of development during the Abstumpfung-period, and since that period coincides with that of the Shuttleworths, at the date of our text. The usual sound in the Shuttleworths' pronunciation, then, was [æ:].[18]

17. Combinative Development

(1) Before *-r*

a. *e* for *ā*

mere (mare) 143, 147: *squerre* 35: *mear, meares* 4, 180: *spaire* 13.

b. Reverse-spellings

pare 30, 107: *repare* 52, 107: *starres* (stairs) 147.

Before *-r* the sound has developed as in isolation. The spellings give no evidence for the development of an instrusive vowel before the consonant.

(2) After *w-*

wyage, wyagies 7, 10, 24, 27, 31, 39, 45, 47: *wyeghe* 21, 30, 31, 37, 44: *wyeaghe* 38, 39: *wyeter, wyater* 26, 29, 30, 31: *wyaxe* 43: *wyeashe* 38: *wyasshinge* 28.

It is improbable that these spellings indicate a combinative change of the Abstumpfung type in which initial *w-* played the rôle of catalyst. I am inclined to consider them as orthographical peculiarities; particularly as they occur only in the section of the work written by Thomas Shuttleworth. He uses *wy-* with significant regularity before front vowels (including the fronted [*a*:]), but only once before a back vowel (*Wyorsley* for *Worsley*); furthermore, the spelling is used where a diphthong of the Abstumpfung type is plainly impossible, as in *wyeddinge* 9, 10, 12, and *wyheles* 18, where the ME. vowel was [e:]; and in *wyendowes* (windows) 5, 30, *wyemble* 9, *wyendle* 18, *wyeld* (wild) 17, *wyetinge* 26, where the ME. vowel was either [i] or [i:]. As a final consideration, the fact that the following vowel is spelled as in isolation must

[18] The cases in which the vowel had proceeded further and been diphthongised may be due either to dialect-mixture (from North Lancashire probably) or to influences from Court pronunciation. In actuality, our spellings, taken with later developments, seem to indicate a period of confused transition: the majority of words had certainly [æ:], a few had [e.ə], and, since the process does not seem to have been complete, a number, I suspect, had [e:].

be noticed. We have *wyevinge* 12, 51, 62, 69, *wyeavinge* 27 for ME. [ë:], *wyege* 7, 10, 24, 31, beside *wyeaghe* 38, 39, *wyagies* 23, for ME. [*a*:], and *wyenes* 10, beside *wyane* 32, for ME. [*ai*]. In other words, the *-y* seems definitely to be part of the consonantal and not of the vocalic symbolisation. For these reasons, these and similar spellings are considered here as purely orthographic in significance.

ME. [e:]

18. Isolative Development

1. *i* for *ē*

chiffe 6: *sides* 8: *kiper* 10: *sykinge* 11: *shipe* 11, 131, 143: *Piter* (Peter) 13: *wykes* 17, 19, 30, 47: *wickes* 140: *wy* 23: *biffe* 25: *shitte* 34, 102, 146: *lyche, liche* 29, 45, 131: *grine* 68, 108: *whilles* (wheels) 10, 40, 57, 65, 130: *rediminge* 80: *iles* 87, 108: *frihoulders* 97: *piplye* (people) 83: *trise* 128, 134: *stile* 131: *pice* (piece) 131: *pryst* 72: *silinge* (ceiling) 151, 157: *bine* 155: *quine* 149: *betwine* 158: *thride* 174:[19] etc.

2. *ie* (*ye*) for *ē*

wyeke (week) 7, 19, 30, 47, 54, 64: *siekinge* 6: *trie* 6: *ielles* 7, 36, 43, 50: *whiele* 7, 9, 10: *wyheles* 18: *wyeddinge*,[20] *wieddinge* 7, 9, 10, 12: *stiele* 10, 41, 44: *thrie* 16: *Pielle* 18: *thies* 37: *Ieve* (Eve) 65: *kyeper* 18: *giesse, giees* 22, 31, 39, 47, 58: *anelsiedes* (aniseed) 159: *fiet* 173: *bieff* 176: *pyeace* (piece) 108.

3. Variants

weake (week) 4, 13, 89, 90: *weydde* (weed) 128: *feyd, feid* 143, 150: *sheytts* 152.

It is possible to regard certain of these spellings as showing the influence of ME. phonetic doublets,[21] but, taken together, all those in groups 1 and 2 prove conclusively that ME. [e:] had been raised to [i:]. Of the variants, *weak* corresponds with the [wi.ək] of the modern D.22, a by-form from a ME. doublet *węke*, which in turn seems to have been influenced by ON. *veikr* (cp.N.E.D.). *Weydde* and *sheytt* may be explained similarly; the former from a ME. *węde* due to the influence of OE. *wæd*, the latter from OE.

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[19] But see below, 20.

[20] See above, 17, 2.

[21] Cp. Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Doubtful are: *pryst, bine, betwine, sykinge, wykes, chiffe.* Sufficient remain unshaken to prove the raising.

scēat (unmutated). It is difficult to obtain any such explanation for *feyd,* and it is best put down to dialect-borrowing or to the influence of the preterite.

19. Combinative Development

Before -r

stire 154, 145: *stieres* 19: *styeres* 58: *styweres* 38: *steares* 98: *dyere* 31: *diere* 161: *beare* (beer) 176: *here* (hair) 47: *heare* 127, 150: *heire* 248: *hayre* 106.

From *styweres* it is possible to suspect the development of the intrusive [ə] before *-r.* The spellings for *hair,* which are grouped here for convenience, seem to correspond with the modern D.22 [ɔ:r], [jər], i.e. they are evidently derived a ME. form with [ę:].[22]

ME. [ę:]

20. Isolative Development

1. *a* for *ē*

baste (beast) 2: *Dane* (Dean) 8, 17, 18: *bane* 33, 91, 143: *Aster*[23] (Easter) 15, 25, 26, 51, 65, 95: *extrates*[24] 98.

2. *ae* for *ē*

vaelle (veal) 26, 44.

3. *ei, ey* for *ē*

meylles (OE. mæl) 144: *veyll* 134, 137: *heide* (head) 65, 76: *leyedinge, leidinge, leydinge* (OE. lædan) 6, 11, 47: *Dayene* (Dean) 30: *laid* (lead: metal) 122.

4. *i* (*y*) or *ie* (*ye*) for *ē*

lyedinge (O.E. lædan) 72: *lyedde* (metal) 45: *myles* 19: *thride* (thread) 174: *sietinge* 221: *clive, clivinge* 128: *cilvinge* (cleaving) 151: *gryes* (grease) 108.

5. Ambiguous *ē*

By far the greater number of spellings for this vowel have the ambiguous *ē,* as:

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[22] Cp. 21 below.

[23] Possibly from ME. *aster* (*ēa*>*a*) in which case it has no value as evidence. Cp. Zachrisson, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

[24] Probably from O. Fr. *estraite,* and therefore not valid evidence: cp. N.E.D. sub *extreat,* sb. obs.

sheffe (sheaf) 5, 100: *bestes* 9, 49: *benes* 11: *whette* 17, 29: *reme* 20: *velle* 9: *meles* 33, 35, 138: *feste* 39: *telles* (teals) 55: *hethe* 66, 121: *grece, greze* (grease) 128, 134, 203, 229: *ledinge* 5, 3: *receve* 116, etc.

In many cases ME. [ę:] seems to have remained in the pronunciation of the Shuttleworths. That, at least, is the only valid conclusion to be drawn from the *a*-spellings given in group 1 *supra*, and it receives strong support from the constant use of *e*-spellings for words of this origin as contrasted with the wide use of *i*-spellings for those from ME. [e:]. In a small number of words ME. [ę:] seems to have fallen together with ME. [ë:], the medium sound:[25] this is the easiest interpretation of *meylles, heide,* and *Dayene*[26] and possibly, of *leyedinge,* and *veylle.* Against this interpretation, however, may be urged the absurdity of too fine qualitative discrimination on the inadequate and treacherous basis of a few spellings. Another explanation is suggested below.

Of the apparently anomalous group of spellings (group 4, *supra*), *clive, myles, thride, sietinge,* and *lyedinge* admit of separate explanation. *Clive* may be derived from a ME. doublet, *cleve* [kle:və],[27] and the remainder are representative of the fairly numerous class of words—mainly of the *æ*[1]—(W.Gmc. *ā*-) type—which had both slack and tense forms in ME.[28] *Gryes* and *lyedde,* however, stubbornly resist a similar explanation, and taken in conjunction with *vaelle* 26, 44 (group 2 *supra*) confront us with the possibility of *Abstumpfung.*[29] In themselves they might be considered insufficient evidence, though it is obvious that *lyedde,* failing other explanation, is easily read as [li.əd], and that *gryes, vaelle* under the same conditions can indicate [gri.əs] [ve.əl]. Final proof of the diphthongisation comes when the spellings for ME. [ǫ:] are considered (27 below). There we have precisely analogous conditions: (1) a group of words with spellings which suggest diphthongisation, as *brooad, loeodes, loeade, roeste, soelinge*; and (2), a group which can be explained on no other basis but Abstumpfung, as *oune, outte, loudes, souppe, boutt* etc. This latter

[25] Luick, *op. cit.*, 391, 498, and below, 21.

[26] Probable because these words have by-forms [meil], [eid], and [dein] in the modern D.22 beside the usual [mi.əl], [jed], [di.ən, di:n]. Cp. Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 40, and *English Dialect Grammar,* Oxford, 1905, sub. *head.* For the full argument cp. 21 below.

[27] Luick, *op. cit.*, 481, anm. 3.

[28] Wyld, *op. cit.*, 232 (2): Schilling, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

group is at first sight anomalous, in that *ou* is the usual spelling for the development, not of ME. [ǫ:], but of ME. [o:]; obviously the only valid explanation is to assume the presence of the diphthong [u.ə], as we have been forced to assume [i.ə] for the spellings *gryes, lyedde*. It would be pushing coincidence too far to attribute both sets of spellings to its agency; and, therefore, I conclude that in each case Abstumpfung diphthongs were already in existence.[30]

To summarize the facts with regard to ME. [ę:]: (1) most words of this origin seem to have remained at the historical stage [ę:], (2), some few *may* have been levelled under ME. [ë:], and (3), some words had been diphthongised by Abstumpfung to [e.ə], [i.ə]. The ME. vowel was thus in a state of transitional development from [ę:] to [e.ə], [i.ə].

21. Combinative Development

There are no occasional spellings to illustrate this.

ME. [ë:] (medium ē)[31]

21. Isolative Development

1. *ei, ey, ay* for *ē*

maylle (meal) 13: *peyes* 17: *weyver* 84: *weyvinge* 84, 101, 235: *weivinge* 220, 224.

2. *y* for *ē*

wyvinge 107:

These should be compared with the following, which have also the *ey, ay* spelling:

(1.) For ME. [ę:]

heides (heads) 76: *Dayene* (dean) 30: *meylles* (repasts) 144: *leydinge, leyedinge* 11, 47: *veyll* (veal) 134, 137.

[29] Luick, *op. cit.*, 495, *supra* 16, and below, 27.

[30] It is as well to give here the chronology of the instances of Abstumpfung found in the text, since they appear to be the earliest examples yet established:—*aelle*, 1583, 1586, 1588: *vaelle*, 1586, 1588: *lyedde* 1588: *gryes*, 1596-7: *loeodes, loeade* 1593, 1597: *brooad* 1600: *roeste* 1602: *soelinge* 1611: *oune* 1583—1586: *outtes* 1583: *loud* 1586, 1587, 1600: *souppe* 1600, 1601: *boutt* (boat) 1597, 1605. For examples *circa* 1700, cp. Handke, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 56.

[31] Luick, *op. cit.*, 391, 498. The chief source of this sound was OE. [e] lengthened in open syllables. In the modern D.22, and to some extent in the D.21, words of this origin have had a distinctive development, and appear now with [ei] or [e:]. Cp. Hargreaves, *op. cit., p.* 40, and Schilling, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

(2.) For ME. [e:]

weydde (weed) 128: *feyd, feid* 143, 150: *sheytts* 152.

Wyvinge in view of its unique occurrence in the text may be dismissed with some probability as a misspelling. For the rest, an attempt to prove that the development of the medium sound was kept distinct by the Shuttleworths demands some reconciliation between the *ey, ay-* spelling in the case of *meal, peas, weaver, weaving,* and its use in the other cases given above. It is manifest, first of all, that [ë:], with its close positional approximation to [e:] on the one hand and to [ę:] on the other, must have been a very unstable vowel. Words with original [ë:] were easily attracted into the other classes, particularly to the [ę:]-group,[32] while words from the other classes were as easily attracted into the [ë:]-group.[33] Thus *head, meal,* and *dean* have, in the modern D.22, the by-forms with [ei] as contrasted with the more usual forms with [i.ə]. The former must obviously be derived from ME. phonetic doublets which had the vowel [ë:]. These modern forms, [eid], [meil], [dein] correspond with *heides, meylles, Dayene* in our text. On the whole, then, the use of the *ey, ay* spelling for words originally belonging to the [ę] or [e:] classes is not irreconciliable with the theory that [ë:] was retained in pronunciation by the Shuttleworths. That the sound remained as [ë:], and had not been raised to [e:] seems certain in view of the positions occupied by ME. [*a*:] and ME. [e:].[34]

22. Combinative Development

Before *-r*

peyers 32, 33: *peres* 61: *pires* 89: *shares* (shears) 131, 231: *shereres* 66: *sheringe* 10, 138, 139: *tere* (vb.) 9, 110.

Pires on the one hand and *shares* on the other indicate the loss of stability which is mirrored in the modern dialects. In the other cases the medium sound probably remained before *-r* as in isolation.[35]

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[32] Schilling, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[33] Hargreaves, *op. cit.,* p. 49.

[34] For support cp. Luick, *op. cit.,* 498: Sussbier (*Sprache der Cely-Papers,* Berlin, 1905, p. 12) terms the *ey,ay* spelling "nördliche Weise," and regards it as a quantitative indication.

[35] Cp. the modern forms [be.ər], [te.ər]. [pe.ər] etc. beside [bə:r], [tə:r], [pə:r].

MASEFIELD'S USE OF DIPODIC METER

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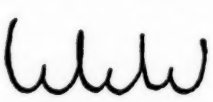
Many metrists have noted that there are in reality several gradations of stress, and one, at least, has classified them in nine distinct groups;[1] yet, in the analysis of poetry, most of them have considered the distinction beyond two degrees too fine for satisfactory application, and have continued to subject all rhythm to the two-stress system. Recently, however, some study has been made of the possibility of a finer system of analysis, in poems where the two-stress system obviously fails to reveal the whole metrical pattern, and where three distinct degrees of stress must be recognized for a complete understanding of the rhythm.[2]

The combination of three degrees of stress (heavy stressed, light stressed, and unstressed), with the heavy and light stresses occurring in alteration regular enough to give a rising and falling effect, produces *dipodic* meter. It may be graphically represented:



Solo Solo SoloS

S denoting the heavy stressed syllables, *l* the light stressed, and *o* the unstressed.[3] The meter is usually (but not always) dissyllabic in form, each dipodic foot resembling a double trochee, such as was recognized in classical prosody as a ditrochee or trochaic dipody.

Since the meter considers three degrees of stress, it represents more nearly than do other meters, the stresses of written and spoken English, which contains many words and phrases with prime and secondary accents, such as *ded″-i-cá-tion* and *in″ the morń-ing.* Because of this quality, the meter is especially adaptable to informal and dialectic songs and poems and to any verse which is

[1] Mayor, *English Meter.*

[2] Stewart, George R., *English Ballad Meter.*

[3] I have used Dr. Stewart's system of stress notation.

primarily oral. The earliest use of the meter in poetry proper is to be found in some of the ballads, in which the alternation of heavy and light stressed syllables is obvious:

Robin stood in Bernesdale and leaned him to a tree.
S o l o S o l o S o l o S[4]

The eldest to the youngest said, 'tis time we were away.
o S o l o S o l o S o l o S

A sprinkling of dipodic meter is found throughout the work of nineteenth-century poets, Macaulay, Browning, Morris, Rossetti, and Tennyson, but the real god-father of the meter is Kipling, who fostered and sponsored it until it became a full-fledged *genre*. He first used it in his songs of soldier life, many of them dialectic, and later extended its use. His wide use of the meter in the poems for which he became popular resulted in its employment by many imitators and some independent followers, notably Alfred Noyes and John Masefield, both of whom, while they first used the meter in the true Kiplingesque manner, later attained individuality by their original variations, combinations with other meters, and application of it to a wider range of subjects.

Of these two men, Masefield used the meter more extensively. There are several possible influences to which his preference for the meter may be due. As a child, he had a feeling for the rhythm which led him to enjoy the poems employing it. In the preface to his *Collected Poems,* he tells us something of his early reading. He mentions, among the first poems which affected him, Thomas Hood's "I remember," *The Ingoldsby Legends,* Percy's *Reliques* and other ballads, and Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome,* in all of which dipodic meter is more or less prominent. One of Masefield's own poems, "An Old Song Resung," if not modeled after Ingoldsby's "As I Laye A-Thynkynge," is decidedly suggestive of it. His youthful experiences in the world may also have increased his familiarity with the rhythm. His first venture from home was on the sea, where he must have heard and learned many of the old sea chanties; and in the wandering life which he lived for some time after that, he probably became familiar with many of the popular modern ballads, on the order of the immortal "Frankie," which seldom find their way into print. Perhaps he did his share

[4] If *Bernesdale* is pronounced as two syllables, the omission of the unstressed syllable does not affect the dipodic rhythm.

in composing new stanzas and in entertaining his audiences with original compositions. In those days of his early manhood, before he had elected the writing of poetry as his life's work, the lilting swing of dipodic meter, which is the most popular meter for narrative songs (as exemplified by its predominance in old English ballads) must have become established in his poetical conceptions, until he felt most easy in the use of it, while other meters required more conscious effort.

In studying Masefield's use of dipodic meter, one finds it convenient to consider the poems in which he used it, in three groups: *Salt Water Ballads,* which appeared in 1902; the poems written between 1902 and 1919 (mainly before 1910), later published in *Ballads and Poems, The Story of a Round House,* and *Lollingdon Downs*; and the long poem *Enslaved,* published in 1920. In addition to these groups, one poem, "The Fight on the Wall," in his recent book, *Midsummer Night,* employs the meter. This division is made merely in reference to time, since the groups are not distinct in any other respect.

The first group deals mainly with sailors and the sea, and contains many dialectic poems. The flavor of Kipling is exceedingly strong, both in manner and matter. Of the 48 poems in the group, 33 are dipodic. We may conclude that the poet realized, as Kipling did, its particular effectiveness as a medium for the pictures he wished to portray. There is a primitive quality about dipodic rhythm, unless it is consciously civilized, which gives it a strength and swing lacking in other meters. It is the rhythm of soldiers on the march, sailors at the ropes, men at work in unison. This swinging quality, together with its slight similarity to conversational rhythm, makes it entirely appropriate for the songs of sailors aboard ship and on shore and for the recitation of the joyous and ghastly adventures of the sun-burned sons of the sea. Only five of the group deal with other subjects. Two of the five, "Cavalier" and "Tomorrow," are cavalier songs; two, "All Ye That Pass By" and "Vision," are reflective in tone; and one, "The West Wind," very different from the others, illustrates the most artistic variation of dipodic meter, a type developed extensively in Masefield's middle years.

After the publication of *Salt Water Ballads,* he gradually turned away from the free use of dipodic meter. His poems of the next period include the well-known "Ships," "Biography," and "They

Closed her Eyes," none of which are dipodic; but they include the equally well-known "Cargoes" and "Spanish Waters," which are in that meter. While the poet was breaking away from dipodic meter, he was writing less of the sea. The relationship that he felt between dipodic rhythm and sea subjects is further indicated by the fact that of the 17 dipodic poems of the period, all but five deal with the sea. But even those of the sea are more serious in tone than those of the earlier group, show a new depth of sympathy for and interest in the life around him, and prove that he was developing a keen feeling for tone-color. The meter, in many cases, lacks the free, regular swing of those of the previous period, and shows a restraint that lessens the sing-song quality which tends to make dipodic meter monotonous.

Enslaved, containing more than 1200 lines, is the only long poem in which Masefield used dipodic meter, and then only in the first part of the poem, dealing with the kidnapping of the woman, the pursuit by her lover, and the sea-voyage to Saffee. Here again we see Masefield's tendency to use dipodic meter for sea subjects; for when he had completed the part of the poem concerning the sea, he changed to the five-stress couplet.

The only poem since *Enslaved* in which Masefield has employed dipodic meter is "The Fight on the Wall" in his recent book *Midsummer Night,* a collection of Arthurian legends.

Throughout the three groups, there is a faint parallelism between time, subject, and form. The earliest poems are regular in meter; those following show the poet's attempt to create new adaptations of it; and in *Enslaved,* he returns again to a comparatively regular form. In subject, the earliest poems are dialectic, and so resolutely realistic that they have little power of effective suggestion; as the poet developed a sense of tone-color and a deeper curiosity, he became more concerned with philosophy and nature. It was during this period that he became involved in his search for beauty, the influence of which has pervaded his work since that time. As a result, his language became more delicate and suggestive, and his interest in romance increased. These changes are reflected in *Enslaved* and "The Fight on the Wall."

METER

The standard dipodic line, o S o l o S o l o S o l o S with a possible feminine ending or anacrusis, is found in the majority of

Masefield's dipodic poems. Of the 52 poems in the meter, 33 use the standard line exclusively and 11 use it in combination with other lines. An excellent example of regular dipodic meter is found in "A Ballad of John Silver," of which the first stanza is:

> **We were schooner rigged and rakish with a long and lissome hull,**
> **And we flew the pretty colors of the cross-bones and the skull;**
> **We'd a big black Jolly Roger flapping grimly at the fore,**
> **And we sailed the Spanish Water in the happy days of yore.**

The stress system of the stanza is:

o o S o l o S o l o S o l o S
o o S o l o S o l o S o l o S
o o S o l o S o l o S o l o S
o o S o l o S o l o S o l o S

There is no variation throughout the poem except an occasional double anacrusis. There are many other poems almost as regular as "John Silver," their only variations being the lack or addition of one or two unstressed syllables in a few of the lines. Among these are "Burial Party," "Bill," "Fever-Chills," "One of the Bo'sun's Yarns," "Harbour Bar," "A Night at Dago Toms," "Evening—Regatta Day," "A Song at Parting," and "Spanish Waters."

Strict regularity, while it may be highly pleasing to the unsophisticated ear, soon loses its charm for both the experienced reader and writer of poetry. Masefield, conscious of this fact, employed certain variations, chief among which is the metrical pause. His most noticeable use of this device is found in his poems of six-stress lines, which are in reality seven-stress lines with the medial light stress regularly omitted. It is illustrated by these lines, the first stanza of *Enslaved*:

> **All early in the April when daylight comes at five,**
> **o S o l o S o ∧ o S o l o S[5]**
> **I went into the garden most glad to be alive,**
> **o S o l o S o ∧ o S o l o S**
> **The thrushes and the blackbirds were singing in the thorn**
> **o S o l o S o ∧ o S o l o S**
> **And April flowers were singing for joy of being born.**
> **o S o l o S o ∧ o S o l o S**

Metrical pauses occur after the words *April, garden, blackbirds,* and *singing.* In *Enslaved,* stanzas of this line are used in combination with stanzas of seven-stress lines. The six-stress line (like the

[5] A caret indicates the omission of a stressed syllable; in these lines, light stressed.

above) is used consistently in "New Bedford Whaler," the introductory poem to the book *A Mainsail Haul,* "The Emigrant," "Roadways," and "The Golden City of St. Mary."

These six-stress lines tend to break into two distinct parts, and are often definitely broken by the punctuation. In "Roadways," the author further breaks the lines by writing each one as two three-stress lines. In "The Emigrant" eight of the twelve lines are broken by commas. In *Enslaved* the thought is more frequently carried over the gap. In the first sixteen lines of this poem, only three emphasize the pause by punctuation. The continuation of the thought in spite of the pause lessens the obviousness of the break, one effect tending to counterbalance the other, so that the entire line has a structural unity which is more indicative of poetic art and more pleasing to a sensitive ear than a line which is completely broken in the middle. In either case, an interspersion of the other type of line is desirable, for the sake of variety. The difference between series of each of the two types of line may be felt by contrasting the stanza of *Enslaved* (quoted above) with the following stanza from "The Emigrant."

> All down the windy village the noise rang in my ears,
> Old sea-boots stamping, shuffling, it brought the bitter tears,
> An old tune piped and quavered, the lilts came clear and strong,
> But I was going westward, I couldn't join the song.

The six-stress line is found in poems other than those mentioned, but only as a variation with the seven-stress line. It is used in poems upon all subjects. We find:

> Your nose is a red jelly, your mouth's a toothless wreck.[6]
> o S o o l S o ∧ o S o l o S
> Faces, passionate faces—of men I may not know.[7]
> S o l o o S o ∧ o S o l o S
> Then we danced till the roses that hung round the wall.[8]
> o o S l o S o ∧ o S l o S

The metrical pause may occur in positions other than the middle of the line, though such pauses are less frequent. Lines in which they are found are:

> The scabbards are clattering, the feathers nodding time.[9]
> o S o ∧ o S o l o S o l o S

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[6] "Evening—Regatta Day."

[7] "All Ye That Pass By."

[8] XXIV *Lollingdon Downs.*

[9] "Cavalier."

It's a sunny pleasant anchorage, is Kingdom Come.[10]
o o S o l o S o l—∧o l o S

In some cases, there are two metrical pauses in one line:

'N' there's dancin' 'n' fiddlin' of ev'ry kind o' sort.[11]
o o S o ∧ o S o∧o S o l o S

or even three:

And Mary, her sister, is married and gone.[12]
o S o∧o S o∧o S o ∧ o S

The last line quoted is very unusual in dipodic verse, since all the light stresses are omitted, making the line appear to be anapestic tetrameter. The fact that it occurs among seven-stress lines necessitates the pauses for the retention of the rhythmic pattern.

The omission of an *un*stressed syllable produces a retardation of the time, but scarcely a metrical pause. In the following lines, for example, the reader would scarcely notice the omissions after *came, tall,* and *sea's*:

Ships as never fetched to port, as never came back.[13]
S o l o l o S o S o l — S[14]
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by.[15]
o l o S o o l — S o o l o S o l
I hunger for the sea's edge, the limits of the land.[16]
o S o l o S — l o S o l o S

Omissions of this kind produce, rather than an actual pause, a lengthening of the preceding syllable, thereby giving added emphasis to that word. Where there is more than one omission in a line, the lengthening of the stressed syllables is proportionately felt, and the line acquires a slow, smooth movement. The poem in which this method is most successfully used to gain a contemplative and slightly wistful effect is "The West Wind." The poem consists of six stanzas, of which the first is typical:

It's a warm wind, the west wind, full of birds' cries,
o o S — l o S — l — S o l — S
I never hear the west wind but tears are in my eyes.
o S o l o S — l o S o l o S

[10] "Port of Many Ships."
[11] "Port of Many Ships."
[12] XXIV *Lollingdon Downs.*
[13] "Port of Many Ships."
[14] A carat indicates the omission of a stressed syllable; dash, of an unstressed syllable.
[15] *Sea Fever.*
[16] "A Wanderer's Song."

For it comes from the west land, the old brown hills
o o S — l o S — l o S — l — S
And April's in the west wind, and daffodils.
o S o l o S — l—∧o S o l

In the 24 lines of the poem, there are 50 omissions of unstressed syllables. A similar effect is achieved by the same means in "Cardigan Bay":

Clean, green, windy billows notching out the sky"
S — l — l o S o S o l o S
"Dancing, flashing green seas shaking white locks.
S o l o l — S — S o l — S

And in lines of other meditative poems:

Oh some are fond of red wine and some are fond of white.[17]
o S o l o S — l o S o l o S
"Sandalwood, cedarwood, and sweet white wine.[18]
S o l — S o l o S — l — S

Where many unstressed syllables are omitted, as in the poems cited, there is usually a large number of monosyllabic-adjective and noun combinations. In "The West Wind" there are 28 such combinations; in contrast, "John Silver," which has no omissions of syllables, shows only nine such instances. The large number of nouns and adjectives produces a richness and compactness of style which is peculiarly appropriate when the poet is recording his own intense images, while the flowing style of regular dipodic meter is more suitable to narrative subjects.

In the examples given, the effect of the omission of unstressed syllables is seen to be a retardation of the movement. A very different effect is achieved in occasional lines of *Right Royal* and *Reynard the Fox,* in which the juxtaposition of light and heavy stressed syllables is due to a change of heavy unstressed syllables (those which have more stress than is represented by *o,* but not enough to be classed as light stressed) into light stresses, rather than to any actual omission of unstressed syllables.[19] The result is a distinct drumming effect. It is illustrated in these lines of *Right Royal,* where the alternation of heavy and light stresses suggests the steady beat of hoofs upon sod:

[17] "Captain Stratton's Fancy."

[18] "Cargoes."

[19] *Reynard the Fox* and *Right Royal* are written in four-stress octo-syllabic couplets. In the lines mentioned, a dipodic rhythm is suggested by the change from the normal line oSoSoSoS to the line oSlSoSlS.

A cloud blew by and the sun shone bright
o S l S o o S l S
Showing the guard rails gleaming white,
S o o S l S o S
Little red flags, that gusts blew tense,
S o l S o S l S
Streamed to the wind at each black fence.
S o o S o S l S

The same effect is felt in certain lines of *Reynard the Fox*, where, in describing the approaching horses, the poet falls into dipodic rhythm:

Then again the kettle drum horse-hooves beat
S o l o S o l S l S
And the green blades bent to the fox's feet,
o o S l S l o S o S
And the cry rose keen not far behind,
o o S l S l S o S
Of the 'Blood, blood, blood' in the fox-hounds' mind.
o o S l S o o S l S

The omission of syllables is not restricted to that of *either* stressed or unstressed; both may occur in the same line, combining the effects of slow movement and sudden pause. In the line:

Where the wild old Atlantic is shouting on the sand[20]
o o S — l o S o ∧ o S o l o S

the two devices are skilfully combined. In the line

It's April, and blossom time, and white is the spray[21]
o S o ∧ o S o l o S — l o S

the pauses are found in positions opposite those in the preceding line, an arrangement which reverses the movement.

An interesting variation in meter, brought about by omission is found in one of Masefield's latest poems, "The Fight on the Wall," where an unstressed and a heavy stressed syllable are omitted together at the beginning of the last line of each stanza:

Modred was in the Water Tower
S o l o o S o l
At Caerleon on Usk
o S o l o S
He saw Queen Guenivere the flower
o l O S o l o S
— ∧ Go by at dusk.
o l o S

This stanza is, of course, two dipodic lines of standard length, in-

[20] "A Wanderer's Song."
[21] "The West Wind."

stead of the four in which it is printed, and the double pause occurs in the middle of the second line.

In contrast to those lines where unstressed syllables are omitted, are those in which there are extra unstressed syllables, as

> Oh delic*ate* green and dewy were all the budding trees.[22]
> Coming *in* solemn beauty like slow old tunes of Spain.[23]

Occasionally there are two extra, as in

> Larks are singing *in the* west, brother, above the green wheat.[24]

There are no rules governing the inclusion of extra unstressed syllables. The important syllables in dipodic meter are the heavy and light stressed; a few more or less unstressed have no great effect on the rhythm.

Unstressed syllables occurring at the ends of lines (feminine endings) are comparatively few in the dipodic poems. In all of the *Salt Water Ballads,* there are only 14 instances in the seven-stress lines, and nine in the shorter lines; in the second group of dipodic poems, about the same number; and in *Enslaved,* they occur in 14 lines, 6% of the dipodic section. When five-stress lines at the end of seven-stress line stanzas have what appear to be feminine endings, these syllables are usually lengthened in the musical interpretation so that the final syllable has a stress. An example of this lengthening of a final syllable is to be found in the last line of each stanza of "Captain Stratton's Fancy":

> Oh some are fond of red wine, and some are fond of white,
> And some are all for dancing by the pale moonlight;
> But rum alone's the tipple, and the heart's delight
> Of the old bold mate of Henry Mor*gan.*

The number of unstressed syllables occurring at the beginning of lines (anacruces) by far excels that of feminine endings. The dipodic foot is usually considered to begin with a stressed syllable (Solo); prepositions, articles, conjunctions, and other words regularly in unstressed positions, occurring at the beginning of a line, are in almost all cases anacruces. One or two of these syllables (there are never more) have little effect upon the rhythm.

Another variation in the matter of unstressed syllables is found

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[22] *Enslaved.*

[23] "Beauty."

[24] "The West Wind."

where such syllables require more than the usual amount of emphasis, as *breeze* and *ship's* in the line

"O the sea breeze will be steady and the tall ship's going trim"[25]
o o S O l o S o l o S O l o S

An analysis of the 16 lines of "Christmas 1903" discloses 20 of these heavy unstressed syllables, in these numbers: nouns, 9; verbs, 5; adjectives, 5; adverbs, 1. In *Enslaved,* however, the first 112 lines must be read to find 20 heavy unstressed syllables. They are: nouns, 10; verbs, 3; adjectives, 6; adverbs, 1. The majority of words in this position are seen to be nouns, of which there are as many as verbs and adjectives together. This matter of heavy unstressed syllables is largely a matter of personal interpretation, rather than of meter. In some cases, there is little room for disagreement, as in the italicized words in the following lines from "The Emigrant":

There were the gray *stone* houses, the night *wind* blowing keen
S o o l O S o∧o S O l o S
The hill*sides* pale with moon*light,* — the young *corn* springing green.
o S O l o S O o S O l o S

However, there is room for disagreement in such lines as:

And some'll swallow tay and stuff *fit* only for a wench.[27]
o S o l o S o l O S o l o S
Then passed into the night, and I *go* seeking her.[28]
o S o l o S—∧o S O l o S

The caesural pause, like the heavy unstressed syllable, is largely a question of taste. The author's preference in the matter is often indicated by punctuation. The tendency of the seven-stress dipodic line to break in the middle has already been noted. In such a line, there is likewise a strong demand for a pause at the end of the line, even though the sense demands an immediate continuation. This point is illustrated by the lines.

"They were like to devils killing, so I hid and then I heard
Rollo moaning in the bushes, with a face as white as curd."[29]

---

[25] "Christmas 1903."

[26] Heavy unstressed syllables are indicated by *O.* They are usually nouns, verbs, or descriptive adjectives which fall into unstressed positions but because of their importance they must have more stress than regularly unstressed syllables, which are usually compartively unimportant syllables such as articles, auxiliary verbs, and unaccented syllables of words of more than one syllable.

[27] *Spanish Waters.*

[28] *Enslaved.*

[29] *Enslaved.*

The length of the line has something to do with the pause; but more than that, the dipodic line is a complete structure, more carefully organized and more finished than the usual line of two degrees of stress. Moreover, the pause at the end of the line is in part metrical, as can be discovered by an analysis of series of dipodic lines.

IRREGULARITIES

The foregoing discussion of dipodic meter has concerned only those poems which have no outstanding peculiarities in the grouping of lines into stanzas. There are several poems with such irregularities that require special attention before a full appreciation of their rhythm can be had. Of these the most interesting are those which can be explained by musical analogy. Such a poem is "Hell's Pavement," which begins:

When I'm discharged in Liverpool and draws my bit o' pay,
I won't come to sea no more.
I'll court a pretty little lass and have a wedding day,
"N' settle somewhere down ashore.[30]

When analyzed as poetry,

o S o l o S o l o S o l o S
S l S l S l S
o S o l o S o l o S o l o S
o S l S l S l S

the first and third lines are seen to be regular dipodic, while in the second and fourth, all unstressed syllables are missing. However, the lines are so obviously meant to be sung that they must be considered in their musical interpretation. The easy dipodic swing of the first line carries us through the second line, which, by an increase of time allowed each syllable, becomes as long as the first line. The same is true of the third and fourth line, so that we have:

The same lengthening of syllables is found in the fourth line of each stanza of "The Golden City of St. Mary":

Out beyond the sunset, could I but find the way,
Is a sleepy blue laguna which widens to a bay,
And there's the Blessed City — so the sailors say —
The Golden City of St. Mary.

[30] The meter of this poem might also be interpreted as "double dipodic," a form discussed later.

The third and fourth lines may be expressed:

Similar lines (short in syllables, but long in time) are found at the end of each stanza of "Fever Ship":

It's cruel when a fo'c'sle gets the fever;

of "Trade Winds":

Of the steady trade winds blowing;

and of "Captain Stratton's Fancy":

Of the old bold mate of Henry Morgan.

More difficult to analyze is "One of Wally's Yarns," but it too may be seen to follow a pattern if certain syllables are lengthened.

The watch was upon the topsail yard a making fast the sail,
'N' Joe was swiggin' his gasket taut 'n' I felt the stirrup give
'N' he dropped sheer from the tops'l-yard 'n' barely cleared the rail,
'N' of course, we bein' aloft, we couldn't do nothin',
We couldn't lower a boat and go a-lookin' for him,
For it blew hard and there was such a sea runnin'
That no boat wouldn't live.

Read as poetry, the first three lines have seven stresses each, and are naturally dipodic; the next three lines have six stresses each; and the last line has three or five stresses. But read for music, one syllable in each of the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines (probably the first syllable of *nothin'*, *for*, and the first syllable of *runnin'*) would be lengthened to take two beats, giving the lines the same amount of time as the first three. The last line would then have five beats: 0 S 1 S 1 S.

XXII *Lollingdon Downs* also has a short fourth line at the end of each stanza:

A hundred years ago, they quarried for the stone here;
The carts came through the wood by the track still plain.
The drills shew in the rock where the blasts were blown here,
They shew up dark after rain.

The stanzas of "Cardigan Bay" are made on the same plan. Such lines as the one last quoted cannot be lengthened into lines corresponding to the seven-stress line, as could those of the group illustrated by "Hell's Pavement." The short line in "Hell's Pavement" is in appearance a five stress line but in time a seven-stress,

while the short line in the above stanza is in appearance a three-stress line but in time a five-stress one. The rhythm is not disturbed, however, for the transition from seven to five stress lines is easy, and, in these cases, wholly natural. The reason for the harmony of these lines (the seven and five stress) is that the two taken together usually form what may be called a *double dipodic* line. This structure is found consistently in "The Turn of the Tide":

> An' Bill can have my sea-boots, Nigger Jim can have my knife,
> You can divvy up the dungarees an' bed.
> An' the ship can have my blessing, an' the Lord can have my life
> An' sails an' fish my body when I'm dead.

It is also used in XXIII *Lollingdon Downs*:

> Here the legion halted, here the ranks were broken,
> And the men fell out to gather wood,
> And the green wood smoked, and bitter words were spoken,
> And the trumpets called to food.

When this stanza is analyzed, the four lines fall into two lines of double dipodic meter, each line with three double dipodic feet:

```
Here  the  legion  halted    here  the  ranks
| S   o    l  o : S  o^—| S   o    l
  were broken    and the    men fell
    o : S  o     l   o  |   S—l—:
  out to gather wood
   S  o  l  o |  S
And the green wood smoked and
 o   o |  S — l— :  S  —  l—|
  bitter words were spoken and
   S o    l      o : S  o  l
  the trumpets called to food
   o |  S—l :  S—l—|S
```

The ordinarily heavy-stressed syllables are seen to be divided further into two groups, so that four degrees of stress, instead of the usual three, must be considered. Thus in the first of these lines, the extra-heavy stress falls on *here, here, man,* and *wood*; the heavy stress on *halt-, brok-,* and *out.*

A complicated and interesting irregularity of meter is illustrated in "A Valediction (Liverpool Docks)." The poem is said to be the words of a drunken sailor, a fact which must be remembered when we criticize the jerkiness of the meter. The first stanza is:

```
You can take 'n' tell Nan I'm goin' about the world agen
 o   o   S   o  l  S  o    S  o l  o  S  o l
'N' that the world's wide.
 o  S  o  S   S
```

'N' tell her that there aint no postal service
o *S* o l o S l *S* o l o
Not down on the blue sea.
o *S* o o l *S*
'N' tell her that she'd best not keep her fires alight
o S o l o S l S l S o l
Nor set up late for me.
o S o S o l
'N' tell her I'll have forgotten all about her
o S o l o o S o l o S o
Afore we cross the line.
o S o S o S
'N' tell her that the dollors of any other sailor man
o S o l o S o o lo S o l o S
Is as good red gold as mine.[31]
o o S l S l S

The stanza shows irregularities of all sorts. There are 31 heavy-stressed and 19 light-stressed syllables; the number of syllables in the lines are, respectively, 14, 5, 11, 6, 12, 6, 12, 6, 15, and 7; and the number of stresses are 7, 3, 5, 3, 6, 3, 5, 3, 7, and 5. These purposeful irregularities affect the normal swing of the meter and cause it to lurch as dangerously as the supposed speaker of the poem. Its very weaknesses, however, cease to be weaknesses when we consider the peculiar suitability of such a meter to such a subject. Indeed, Masefield's ability to humanize dipodic meter to the extent of showing its reaction to intoxication is further proof of his mastery of it.

Of a different sort of irregularity is "Port of Holy Peter," beginning:

The blue laguna rocks and quivers,
Dull gurgling eddies twist and spin.
The climate does for people's livers,
It's a nasty place to anchor in,
Is Spanish port,
Fever port,
Port of Holy Peter.

Here the dipodic rhythm is felt only faintly in the first four lines, because there is little distinction between light and heavy stresses; but the meter of the refrain is so distinctly dipodic that its influence is felt throughout the poem. That Masefield meant the poem to be dipodic is indicated by lines occurring in various stanzas:

There's sand-bagging and throat-slitting
o S l o o S l o

[31] This stanza may also be explained as irregular double dipodic. In the first two lines, then, the extra-heavy stress would fall on *take, goin', that,* and *wide.*

And the dawn brings the fever chills
o o S l o S o l
The sea rocks and the earth quakes
o S l o o S l

STANZA FORM

The stanza made up of four seven-stress lines is most frequent in Masefield's dipodic poems. Of the regular four-line stanzas (by regular, I mean those in which trick printing has not been used), there are 36 of the shorter poems, and all of the dipodic section of *Enslaved*. Two (XXIV *Lollingdon Downs* and "New Bedford Whaler") are of four-line stanzas after the first stanza, which in the former is of six lines and in the latter, five. In addition to the 36, there are several poems with stanzas printed otherwise, but logically of four lines. In "Hell's Pavement," for example, two stanzas end:

To sleep on when his watch was through—
So he did.

This is obviously one dipodic line, printed as it is for emphasis. "Tomorrow" has a stanza ending:

But tomorrow
By the living God, we'll try the game again.

This too is one dipodic line, printed as two to produce suspense after the word *tomorrow*.

"The Seekers" is in couplet stanzas, each couplet forming a complete sentence. "Roadways" and "The Fight on the Wall" are printed as four short-line stanzas, each two lines making a seven-stress dipodic line; thus each stanza gives the effect of a dipodic couplet. "Cargoes" is printed in five-line stanzas, with the third and fourth lines of each stanza forming one complete dipodic line. In "An Old Song Resung" the five-line stanza cannot be thus condensed, since all the lines are of the same length. The three-line stanza is used in the first three poems of *Salt Water Ballads*. The only seven-line stanzas are those of "One of Wally's Yarns," one of which has already been quoted. It is a peculiar stanza, unusual in length and combination of lines, and read as poetry, has little appearance of organization. Equally unusual is the ten-line stanza of "A Valediction (Liverpool Docks)." "A Ballad of Cape St. Vincent," the only poem in which the five-stress line is used throughout, has eight lines in each stanza.

There is no valid reason why the four-line stanza should be par-

ticularly suitable to dipodic meter; yet it is the most satisfying stanza in Masefield's work. When he used longer stanzas, he usually used irregular lines which disturb or disguise the rhythm, and, until a close study of the poems is made, appear as a hodge-podge of meters.

CONCLUSIONS

To those who are concerned with the progress of poetry, the successful handling of any meter must be of interest. The fact that three of the best-known modern English poets, Kipling, Noyes, and Masefield, have made extensive use of dipodic meter, and that their popularity is doubtless of the kind to influence poets of the future, gives to the meter an importance which has hitherto been scantily recognized, and renders desirable a wider understanding and recognition of it. Those who cling to the iambic-trochaic-anapaestic-dactylic theory must add it to their list as a distinct type; and those who would remove the limits of this classification may find in it the beginning of a wider concept of meter.

Masefield, for his demonstration of the various uses to which the meter can be put, deserves consideration as a metrical composer of no low order. In his shorter poems, usually considered of little significance beside his long narratives and dramas, he has shown what can be accomplished by the application of metrical devices and word-masonry to dipodic meter; he has illustrated the emotional effects of which the meter, in the hands of a sensitive poet, in capable; and in *Enslaved,* he has proved that the meter can be refined to a delicacy and elevated to a dignity which make it a suitable medium for artistic narrative.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES FROM COMMYNES TO MALHERBE

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Adjectival Clauses

1. Sentences containing an adjectival clause may be conveniently classified according to the nature of the main clause or the antecedent, the nature of the subordinate clause, and the nature of the relative[1] or its function in the subordinate clause. A classification based on these divisions and subdivisions will ordinarily distinguish, in the material with which we are dealing, some forty or fifty types of sentences. However, since we are considering examples with reference to mood usage primarily, they may be divided merely into four groups, according to the nature of the main clause or the antecedent. These groups are:

Group I

2. In this group, the main clause presents a positive antecedent, as distinguished from a negative one. The subordinate clause characterizes an indefinite antecedent, refers to a peculiar or unique power of the antecedent, or presents the action as being desired or necessary:

il faut user plustost de composez qui *ayent* au bout le nombre singulier (Est., 160);[2] trouvez-moy une femme qui *ait esté* si ferme . . . que cest homme cy a esté. (Marg., I, 242); C'est peu de chose que du peuple, s'il n'est conduyt par quelque chef qu'ilz *ayent* en reverence (Comm., I, 161); Moyennez nous une paix par laquelle l'union *soit* renduë à l'Eglise (Vair, 186); Je . . . ne veux plus jouer si ce n'est en quelque belle moralité où il y *ayt* quelques grands personnages (Desp., 104); fault choisir quelque passetemps qui ne *soit* dommageable à l'ame (Marg., I, 13); il faict mauvais vivre soubz un prince, soubz lequel rien ne *soit* permis (Calv., R. C., 763).

Although the first and second examples above, are mechanically similar, necessity or volition is present in the first, while the second

[1] It may be noted in passing, that the relative is very rarely elided in this period, whereas its elision is not uncommon in the earlier language, especially in poetry. E.g., *N'a rien el mont mains puist soufrir* (Gaut., 3804).

[2] The bibliography of sources is appended. The study has been extended both backward and forward from the indicated period, the sixteenth century, but earlier and later examples are generally cited rather than quoted.

expresses a challenge implying a doubt. In this group, the reason for subjunctive usage may be assigned variously to volition, uncertainty, purpose, negation, fear, concession, etc. Illustrations are numerous. To those presented above, we add the following supplementary ones:

Je ne congneü oncques bonne yssue d'homme qui *ait voulu* espoventer son maistre (Comm., I, 181); soupsonnant que quelques uns fussent cachez là dedans, qui la *voulsissent* prendre par force (Marg., I, 154); Escoute, Tailleboudin, ne crains tu point de tomber entre les mains de quelque fin frotté qui *congnoisse* tes ruses & finesses? (Fail, P. R., 104); les medecins . . . l'attribuoient . . . à quelque passion secrete qui me *rongeast* au dedans; ils se trompoient. (Mont., III, 425)

In other words, the thought contained in an adjectival clause, may be quite as well contained in various other frames, but the modal syntax remains constant. This transfer of modality is a common phenomenon.[3]

The indicative and the conditional occur exceptionally in the subordinate clauses of sentences belonging to this group:

n'est-ce pas grand pitié que deux si grands personnages, au lieu d'employer le temps à des escrits qui les *pouvoyent* rendre admirables, l'ayent employé à des disputes . . .? (Est., 19); faut qu'il ait aussi des choses dont il n'*ha* point besoin (*id.*, 105).
il feut conclud que . . . il menast avecques soy quelq'un qui congneust (variants A, B, D: *congnoistroit*) les voyes (Rab., G., 34-23); je lui ai remontré que s'il attendoit, il pourroit trouver quelque maître qui l'*emmèneroit* hors de cette ville (Malh., III, 20).[4]

Group II

3. In this group, the main clause is negative either in form or in sense:

Je n'ai, ce me semble, autre chose qui *vaille* de vous être écrite. (Malh., III, 99); Il n'est rien que je *haisse* comme à marchander. (Mont., I, 76); Il n'y a croix ne eaue benoiste dont elle *face* cas. (Marg., II, 200); il n'y a point de lieu au monde où il y *ait* de divertissements semblables à ceux de la cour. (Malh., III, 84); il n'est point de belle femme qui n'*ait esté* priée (Desp., 59); nous n'avons rien que n'*eussent* les Grecs et les Latins (Est., 98); il n'y a nulle creature . . . sur laquelle no *soit* espandue sa misericorde. (Calv., R. C. 12); Il n'y a sorte de peine où il n'*ayt rompu* sa personne (Vair, 202); Car s'il n'y en a point d'autres qui *ait* être que celui qui est, . . . (Calv., O. F. 101); si tout le monde n'est converty en une nouvelle forme: en laquelle il n'y *ayt* ne jugemens, ne . . . (*id.*, R. C., 753); Il n'y a que la prudence et

[3] Some of the earlier examples are more striking. Compare the following two: *sembloit* parfaittement que elle *désirast* . . . (Froiss., XV, 287); au voir dire ce *sembloit* nesge qui *volast* vers celle femme (*id.*, XV, 291).

[4] Concerning this extension of modality or tendency to retain the same mood throughout a series of clauses depending each upon the preceding one, see *The Conditional Sentence from Commynes to Malherbe*, Supplement to *The Romanic Review*, 1931.

vaillance du Duc de Parme qui luy *maintienne* ce qui reste (Vair, 74); il n'y en avoit que trois qui n'y *fussent* point (Malh., III, 110) ;encore n'écris-je guère de choses qui *puissent* brouiller ni moi ni personne. (*id.*, III, 112); pour n'avoir guère de matière dont vous *preniez* plaisir d'être entretenu. (*id.*, III, 51)

The influence of negation is constantly evident.[5] The following example provides an illustration of the differentiation in usage:

il entendit leurs cris, non comme de gens qui *eussent* cueur de combatre, ains qui *estoyent* effroyez et *regardoyent* à se sauver de vitesse (Amy., 84).

In this group, the indicative and the conditional are exceptional, while the subjunctive employed with conditional force is not infrequent:

aulle chose qui se *peult* dire à ce propos . . . il ne dist. (Comm., I, 6); le roy Loys . . . a myeulx sceü entendre cest art . . . que nul autre prince que jamais je congneü (variant P: que j'*ay* jamais *congneu*) (*id.*, I, 96); Gaut., 3250.
Mais aussi ne suis-je pas celuy qui *vouldroit* soustinir que . . . (Amy., XIII). il n'estoit chose au monde qu'il ne *feïst* pour les gecter hors (Comm., II, 48); Marg., I, 39 (*peust*); Chr., 5526 (*osasse*).

Group III

4. In this group, the main clause is interrogative, and the interrogation is generally oratorical. A parallel exists in the case of declarative verbs, where an interrogative construction is ordinarily followed, in the dependent clause, by a mood in conformity with the sense. Uncertainty and implied negation are followed by the subjunctive, and affirmation by some other mood.

Mais est il quelque mal en une police qui *vaille* estre combatu par une drogue si mortelle? (Mont., III, 349); Car quelle plus grande douceur peut avoir la conscience où elle se *puisse* assurément reposer . . .? (Calv., O. F., 47); Et qui est celui qui ne *sache* que tu n'y seras pas encore? (*id.*, O. F., 84); Qui est le coin du monde où ne *soyent* imprimées les marques de sa valleur? (Vair, 6); Y ha-il point quelqu'une d'entre vous qui *soit* frappée des perfections de luy? (Desp., 214); Y a-t-il rien en cette douleur soufferte qu'on *puisse* contrepoiser au plaisir d'un si prompt amandement? (Mont., III, 418)

The indicative is exceptional, but the future, the conditional, and the subjunctive employed with conditional force, occur not infrequently, in circumstances similar to those of subjunctive usage:

Qui est-ce qui ne *voit* que . . .? (Calv., O. F., 117)
Qui est celuy qui nous *certifira* que l'Escriture est procedée de Dieu? (Calv., R. C., 19); qui est celuy qui la *pourra* legitimement appeller cisterne? (Paliss., 171)
où sont les puissances tant voisines que lointaines qui *oseroient* attendre la moitié de ceste tempeste? (Fail, Eutr., 302)

[5] This is true not only of relative clauses, but of dependent construction in general.

qui est l'homme de mon estat après vous avoir veu que ie *daignasse* regarder? (Marg., II, 259); Qui est le prisonnier . . . qui ne *consumast* sa vie . . . par une si longue prison? (Vair, 14)

Group IV

5. In this group, the main clause is conditioned:

Or si tu sçais quelqu'un qui *aye* vouloir d'avoir un Modelle . . . (Paliss., 122); si c'est chose que vous en *ayez estimée* digne . . . (Malh., III, 263); si c'est chose . . . dont le dommage luy *soit* grief à porter. (Calv., R. C., 773); s'il y a rien en ce monde où Dieu se *doive* complaire . . . (Vair, 177); s'ils mettent en avant quelque belle sorte de Diminutifs qui ne se *puissent* trouver au nostre . . . (Est., 89); si Dieu a doué nostre nation de quelques graces que la leur n'*ait* point . . . (*id.*, 24); si ce sont gens dont on ne *puisse* rien craindre (Vair, 77).

The indicative and the future are exceptional, while the subjunctive employed with conditional force occurs occasionally:

Et ie vous prie, mon compere, si vous sçavez poinct quelque drogue qui luy *peut* changer sa complexion m'en vouloir bailler (Marg., III, 174).
D'autre part si le feu est ceste année en un endroit où il y *aura* quelque espece de mineral . . . (Paliss., 154).
S'il y avoit chose en ce monde . . . que ie ne *voulsisse* faire pour vous . . . (Marg., I, 158).

Pouvoir and *Devoir*

6. Malherbe, in his *Commentaire sur Des Portes*, corrects Des Portes' employment of *peut* in the following sentence:

Des Portes: Quelque herbe ou quelque fleur qui les coeurs *peut* contraindre.
Malherbe: *Peut*, pour *puisse*. Il faut dire: si vous savez quelqu'un *qui soit* bon serviteur du Roi, et non *qui est*. (Malh., IV, 451)

The question here, involves more especially the verb *pouvoir*. Palsgrave, in conjugating this verb, says that its present subjunctive is lacking.[6] We interpret this as evidence that the present subjunctive of *pouvoir* was little used in the spoken language. Palsgrave continues:

The indiffinite shulde make *je péusse*, and so Alayn Chartier and Frossart useth theym: but I fynde more in use *je puýsse tu puýsses, il puist* or *puýsee*, etc. (Compare *puist* present subjunctive, Froiss., II, 11; present optative, *id.*, XV, 223)

The indicative forms of *pouvoir*, since they express possibility, do in fact render the subjunctive forms unnecessary to some extent. Vaugelas, for example, indicates that *ie parlois assez haut pour qu'il m'entendist* is equivalent to *ie parlois si haut qu'il me pouvoit*

[6] John Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse*, London, 1530. Reprint by F. Génin (*Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*), Paris, 1852; p. 105.

bien entendre.[7] *Devoir,* on the other hand, stresses rather the idea of futurity, which was the original quality or force of the subjunctive in the Indo-European languages, according to M. Meillet.[8]

7. In the period with which we are dealing, the indicative forms of *pouvoir* and *devoir* replace, occasionally, the subjunctive mood of another verb. Exceptional mood usage in adjectival clauses, frequently involves their employment as modal auxiliaries, indicative in form but potential in significance. In this usage they take over one of the functions of the subjunctive as it is employed in the earlier language:

Lasse! or ne sai dont que je *face.* (Gaut., 3610)

However, although the modal auxiliaries supply a majority of the examples of exceptions to subjunctive usage, in general they tend to follow the same rules of usage as other verbs. Thus, not mere potentiality, but contingent potentiality, is expressed:

Mes enfans, vous me demandez . . . ung passetemps qui vous *puisse* delivrer de vos ennuictz (Marg., I, 11).

The subjunctive forms of *devoir* are also employed in some cases, apparently, to distinguish it as a modal rather than a temporal auxiliary, e.g.:

Car autant, voire dadvantage, peuvent les femmes ventre porter, mesmement quand c'est quelque chef d'oeuvre et personnage que (qui) *doibve* en son temps faire grandes prouesses (Rab., G., 3-16).

Representative Types of Sentences

8. In the examples provided in §§2-5, may be noted a considerable number of circumstances of sentence construction in conjunction with which the relative clause functions adjectivally. Five of these types of sentences may be considered as representative illustrations of the employment of the subjunctive in the adjectival clause. They are:

Por ce loent tel pes a querre,
Qui *soit* resnable et droiturière
(Chr., 2544)
Ore est Fenice mout a eise:
N'est riens nule qui li *despleise*
(*id.*, 6425)
N'i a nul, qui coiz ne se *taingne.*
(*id.*, 4648)

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[7] Claude Favre de Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue françoise,* Paris, 1647; p. 17.

[8] A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine,* Paris, 1928.

-Amie suer, que set il faire?
A el en lui que je n'i voi?
Ou a il nule rien en soi,
Que je n'i voie, qui tant *vaille*?
(Gaut., 492)
Si n'i a un seul si hardi,
S'il nule piere a qui rien *vaille*,
Qu'il ne l'aport sanz nule faille
(*id.*, 746)

In these representative types, mood usage does not vary essentially, from the twelfth century to the present day. The comparatively rare cases of indicative usage generally involve a modal auxiliary.

These five types of construction are all persistent. Comparatively speaking, the first type is frequent during our period, the fourth and fifth are less frequent, and the second and third are very frequent. Some of the other types are likewise persistent, but all are less frequent, and some are rare.

After Superlatives

9. In clauses modifying superlative adverbial expressions, the subjunctive, employed to express contingency, rarely occurs:

L'on tient que pour *le plus tôt* que ce *puisse* être, ce ne sauroit être devant le 20e du mois qui vient. (Malh., III, 158); Froiss., II, 68 (Il dissent: "*Oïl*" et que presissent terre où que fust, *au plus tost* que il *peuissent* [9])

Ordinarily we find another mood, and a tense following that of the main verb in sequence:

Elle luy dist . . . qu'il s'habillast *le plus tost* qu'il *pourroit*. Ce temps pendant frappoit le mary à la porte, appellant *le plus hault* qu'il *povoyt* sa femme. (Marg., I, 69); Je me suis dispensé de lui dire . . . que *le plus tôt* qu'il *pourroit* revenir ce seroit le mieux (Malh., III, 375); Froiss., II, 109 (il . . . misent ens *au plus tost* qu'il *peurent* chevaux et harnas).

10. In relative clauses, superlative expressions are followed by the indicative, subjunctive, conditional, and future, in the works examined. We quote a few examples of indicative usage:

Il avoit ordonné . . . deux grans tables . . . chargées de . . . et les vins *les meilleurs* dont on se *povoit* adviser (Comm., II, 55); *les myeulx empoint* et *myeulx armés* qui *vindrent* jamais en France (*id.*, II, 27); il . . . luy feit la feste d'avoir trouvé *la meilleure robbe* qu'il *avoyt* poinct *veue*. (Marg., I, 79); on passera à des allégories *les plus sottes* et *les plus impertinentes* qui *furent* jamais. (Malh., III, 513); Froiss., XV, 170; Gaut., 6005; Chr., 2686.
Tu n'es pas *le premier humain* qui *soit descendu* avant sa mort dans ces demeures (France, 147); Ne m'as-tu point dit que je n'étais pas *le premier* qui, descendu vivant dans ces demeures, se *présenta* devant toi? (*id.*, 152)

The more closely one scrutinizes examples, the more cautiously one

[9] I.e., *pourraient*. Even in our period, the functions of the imperfect subjunctive are not distinctly separated from those of the present conditional.

forms any opinion concerning the principles governing mood usage. Examples of indicative usage are paralleled by examples of subjunctive usage:

Les plus grandz senatz . . . qui *ayent esté* ne qui *sont* ont bien erré et errent bien (Comm., II, 173); les anciens Empereurs Romains . . . y avoient employé des gens de sçavoir, *des plus grands* qui *fussent* en l'Empire Romain (Paliss., 146); Il donna . . . une épée . . . que . . . .on dit être *la plus belle chose* qui se *puisse* voir (Malh., III, 193).

11. It is impossible to discern any special set of circumstances peculiar either to indicative or to subjunctive usage, even after such purely superlative expressions as *le plus* and *le meilleur*. It would be possible, however, to set up a theory tending to explain erratic mood usage. This theory would be that erratic usage after superlative adjectival expressions might be due to the construction being analogous, in one respect, to a construction in which the subjunctive predominates, and in another respect, to a construction in which the subjunctive almost never occurs. That is, in other types of adjectival clauses, the subjunctive is almost invariably employed after an indefinite or an imagined antecedent, while after superlative adverbial expressions, the subjunctive is very rarely employed. Also, after superlative adverbial expressions, the verb is almost invariably *pouvoir, savoir,* or *être possible*; and this is likewise true after superlative adjectival expressions, almost invariably, if the conditional or future is employed, and very frequently, if the present is used.

12. The employment of the subjunctive in relative clauses after superlatives, is of course primarily attributable to the employment of superlative forms in a comparative sense. In Froissart's work, the subjunctive is quite commonly employed in comparative clauses, but in our period it is exceptional. A comparison supposes two antecedents, one of which may be indefinite or negative in sense. In a comparative construction expressing inequality, the property or the fact is not common in the same degree, to both persons or objects, but pertains, in the given degree, to the first term only, e.g.:

Sire de Coucy, vous avés trop plus veu que ces deux n'*aient* (variant: *ont*) (Froiss., XV, 223).
disant que . . . il feroit un grand service au sire, et seroit la boutique à son commandement: promesses et adjurations plus fortes que *produise* la rue sainct Denis de Paris. (Fail, Eutr., 266)

In both of these examples, the antecedent is implied rather than apparent. It is the indefinite or negative quality of the antecedent,

expressed or implied, which often serves to explain subjunctive usage:

c'estoyt moy & non aultre qui *ayt faict* tout cela (Marg., III, 10).
ie ne croiray ceste parolle quant elle seroit dicte de la bouche du plus austere religieux qui *soit.* (*id.*, III, 73); Amadour estoit ung aussy honneste & vertueux chevalier qu'il en *soit* poinct (*id.*, I, 147).
Moyse, le plus doulx homme qui de son temps *feust**[10] sus la terre (Rab., G., 50-82) (Erat enim Moyses vir mitissimus super omnes homines qui morabantur in terra. Numbers, XII, 3).
La clartè n'esjouit elle toute nature? Elle est blanche plus que chose que *soit.* (Rab., G., 10-38) (Elle est la plus blanche).
Et si veulx avoir tousjours le plus apparent (rôle) qui *soit.* (Desp., 104) (Celui qui est plus apparent que rôle qui soit).

13. Consciousness of an implied comparison involving an indefinite antecedent in the second term, seems to be the explanation of such constructions as the following:

A tout prendre, ceste cité de Paris est la cité que jamais je *veisse* environnée de meilleur pays et plus plantureux (Comm., I, 58).
Lubin Garot (céluy que je *veisse* onc qui le mieux prenoit grenoilles) purtoit une grande et large poche pour . . . (Fail, P. R., 127) (Lubin Garot, qui prenoit grenoilles mieux que celuy que je veisse onc, portoit . . .).

It does not seem probable, however, that any conscious choice was constantly made between the apparent and the hypothetical or induced antecedent. Indeed, there is evidence that even when there were two apparent antecedents, the choice was frequently incorrect:

c'estoit ung des plus saiges princes et des plus subtilz qui *ayt regné* en son temps. (Comm., II, 171); Marg., III, 10 (quoted, §12).

Malherbe notes both correct and incorrect choice in Des Portes' work (Mahl., IV, 258, 261, 299). Let us compare Malherbe's choice:

Ce sounet est, à mon gré, un des buns qui *sovient* dans des Portes. (Malh., IV, 451)

Mistaken choice was still common in 1647, when we find Vaugelas correcting the agreement of the verb with the antecedent.[11] But we have reason to believe that the sense of Commynes' sentence quoted above, is:

Il estoit plus saige que nul autre prince qui ayt regné en son temps. Compare Comm., I, 48, quoted in §14)

[10] *Indeterminate form. Mistaking of forms may be found as late as 1895, in A. Darmesteter, *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française,* Livre 4e, p. 125 (*continuez** indicative in Montaigne).

[11] *Remargues sur la Langue Françoise par Vaugelas. Nouvelle èdition . . . par A. Chassang.* Versailles et Paris, 1880; I, 256.

14. It is obvious, of course, that a statement referring to a comparison in which one of the terms is tacitly indefinite, inherently lacks positiveness; but the explanation modernly given, that the subjunctive is employed after a superlative expression to reduce its absoluteness, is based on a practice which was still far from general at the end of the sixteenth century. The employment of the subjunctive seems attributable primarily, rather, to an indefinite antecedent either expressed or hypothetical, which is induced perforce by the fact that the apparent antecedent requires comparison with it before any superlative degree may exist. This induced antecedent has approximately the nature of certain apparent antecedents, e.g.:

lequel sembloit aussi bien prince et grand chef de guerre que nul autre que je *veisse* en la compaignie. (Comm., I, 48)
son père a esté parfaictement chiche homme, plus que prince ne autre qui *ait esté* de nostre temps. (*id.*, II, 255) (Compare: ceste grant armée . . ., qui estoit la plus grande qui *ait esté* de memoire d'homme pour lors vivant; *id.*, II, 26).
elle est plus ancienne que toute autre espece d'escripture qui onques *ait esté* au monde (Amy., VII) (i.e., elle est la plus ancienne qui . . .).

Frequency

15. Both the subjunctive and the indicative are employed in all the works examined. Comparisons show that usage is erratic, although there is a strong tendency of the subjunctive to predominate when the formulated action is anticipated, e.g.:

Et fut leur conclusion que . . . ilz sauldroient six cens hommes du pays de Franchemont, tous les meilleurs qu'ilz *eussent*. (Comm., I, 154); Il prendra voz terres, voz vignes, et les meilleurs jardins que vous *ayez*: et les donnera à ses serviteurs. (Calv., R. C., 777)

We may generalize only to the extent of saying that the subjunctive tends to become predominant. It is employed, after superlative adjectives, slightly more often than the indicative.[12] This is true regardless of the tense employed, but the tendency is slightly greater in the present perfect or composed tense, than in others.

Premier, Seul, etc.

16. After *premier* and *seul,* the subjunctive is exceptional. The agreement of the past participle, or the lack of it, is noteworthy:

Vecy la première male adventure et fortune que cedit duc *avoit* jamais *eue* en

[12] We base this statement on frequency tables of mood usage after *le meilleur . . . que* (conjunction), *le meilleur . . . que* (accusative), *le meilleur . . . qui, le plus . . . que* (accusative), and *le plus . . . qui.*

toute sa vie. (Comm., II, 105); les Vindellois . . . sont les premiers que je *aye veu*, qui ont portè bonnets à croppiere (Fail, P. R., 125).
c'est aujourd'hui le seule commodité que j'*aye*. (Malh., III, 528).

Compare:

il n'y a que la seule congnoissance de Dieu qui les *rende* superieurs: par laquelle ilz *peuvent* aspirer à l'immortalité. (Calv., R. C., 10); il ne s'en est encore trouvé pas un que moy seul, qui l'*ait* entierement achevé . . ., au moins que j'*aye sçeu* ne *veu* (dubitative) (Amy., XXVI); il n'y a que Dieu seul qui la *puisse* empêcher (Malh., III, 448); il n'y a que les riches qui *puissent* beaucoup prester. (Est., 138); cf. §3.

Subjunctive usage here, as in §§ 12-14, hinges primarily on the indefinite or negative quality of the antecedent, and consequently on the uncertain nature of the action, whether the antecedent exert the formulated action, or receive it. The case is similar after *peu* (in Froissart, *petit*):

il y en a peu de qui le feu d'amour *soyt* si grand que . . . (Marg., III, 148); il y en eut peu qui n'en *dissent* leur mot (Malh., III, 226); Froiss., II, 148.

Compare:

la memoire . . . de ce peu que j'*ay veu* (Vair, 35); le peu que j'en *sais*. (Malh., III, 66)

Examples involving *dernier* and *principal* are rare. We have noted subjunctive usage after the latter, but none after the former.

The clause with the subjunctive, in this and the preceding sections, is essentially a clause of characteristic. Mood usage in the clause of characteristic, as we have seen, is already fairly definitely established, at the beginning of our period. It is to this type of clause that the clause after the superlative appears to become assimilated, during the course of the sixteenth century; and mood usage in the two tends to become identical.

Correspondent Relative Clauses

17. One of the commonest cases of correspondence of a relative clause to another construction, is its employment to complete an essentially negative-consecutive construction:[13]

il n'est nul prince si saige *qui ne faille* bien aucunes fois (Comm., II, 173); il n'y a apparence de bien si grand *qui doibve* faire hazarder une femme de . . .(Marg., II, 155); il n'y aura si furieux Cannoniers . . . *qui ne soyent* contraints de lever le siege (Paliss., 121); Nul ne fut veu si abatu de blessures *qui n'essaiast* . . . de se venger (Mont., I, 9); Gaut., 6289.

In these examples, *qui* may appear to replace *qu'il* or *qu'ils*, which,

[13] In consecutive clauses of result, the subjunctive is the usual usage after negation.

it is thought, were pronounced like *qui*. These clauses, however, modify the negative antecedent, as may be seen in further examples:

Et ne sauroit advenir cas si soudain *où l'on ne puisse* bien appeller . . . (Comm., II, 217); ie ne croy pas qu'il y ayt si malheureuse & aveugle femme en ceste compaignye *qui me ayt trouvé* à son gré. (Marg., III, 186)

In Palissy, *qui* occurs less frequently:

il n'est aucune plante, ny espece d'herbe sur la terre, *qu'elle* n'aye en soy quelque espece de sel (Paliss., 20); il n'est pas iusques aux femmes steriles *qu'elles* n'y aillent (*id.*, 154).

But also:

Il n'est pas iusques aux limaces rouges, *qui* n'en ayent. (*id.*, 50) (gender: une jeune limace . . . elle; *id.*, 114).

The relative clause occurs quite as frequently as the consecutive clause. Occasionally, the two occur together:

il n'y a amour si secrette *qu'il ne soyt sceue,* ne petit chien si affaité & faict à la main, *du quel on n'entende le iapper.* (Marg., III, 202)

18. Another case of correspondence exists in the employment of the relative clause as a protasis. This clause may contain the truly essential element of the protasis, since the determinative adjectival clause generally contains the stressed portion of the thought of any sentence in which it occurs:

si le bon homme a femme ou fille *qui soit belle,* il fera que saige de la bien garder. (Comm., II, 216); *id.*, I, 26, 129; Desp., 122; Est., 103; Mont., I, 55; Chr., 6367.

19. The correspondence of the relative clause to an objective clause introduced by *que*, is also noteworthy, although it is not peculiar to our period. We quote a few examples selected at random:

là *fu dit et aresté* . . . que il demorast pour tousjours mais, . . . sus certainnes gardes *qui fuissent songneus de le garder* que . . . (Froiss., II, 97).
Laquelle . . ., comme trop *desirant* d'avoir prince *qui demourast au pays de Normandie* (Comm., I, 80); il ne *fauldroit* qu'une petite plume *qui s'eslevast de terre le moins du monde,* pour les amuser (Desp., 349); il nous *faut* un seul Roy catholique, *soubs l'obeïssance duquel nons puissons reünir* tous les membres de cet Estat (Vair, 71).

20. Finally, let us note that the relative clause is one of the strongholds of the imperfect subjunctive:

"Sire!" fet il, "tot a devise N'est chose que je ne *feïsse,* Mes que por tant franc me veïsse (Chr., 5502).
sachiés que qui fust enerolés en ces crolières, il trouvast à malaise qui li *aidast.* (Froiss., II, 145)

Il n'y a homme au monde que je *desirasse* tant à veoir que vous. (Comm., II, 64); Où est la plume qui *sceust** escripre, . . .? (Desp., 47); Car qui est celuy des hommes, qui ne *reposast* voluntiers en soy mesmes? (Calv., R. C., 1); Il est vray que malaisément ils trouveroyent des mots qui *eussent* ceste mesme signification (Est.; 97); où trouverois je une eloquence qui *peust** desployer . . .? (Vair, 3)

It is true that the present conditional begins to supplant the imperfect subjunctive, in such clauses, before the opening of our period; but this occurs ordinarily only in certain circumstances, that is, cases illustrating the persistence of the formula of the conditional sentence. It is in the strength of the conditional sentence formula, that we are perhaps permitted to discern the primary cause, or the opening wedge, in this long and slow process of displacement.

Primarily, there is little real difference between the employments of these two moods, and when the imperfect subjunctive has been relegated to the realm of hypotaxis, it follows the conditional very persistently. The next step in the separation of the two moods, may be considered as accomplished when the present subjunctive begins to be employed after the present conditional, thus breaking their hypotactical unity. M. Brunot states that there are, in the texts, no examples of such a sequence, until after the seventeenth century.[14] For the sake of precision, let us note the following cases:

Et ne *sauroit* advenir cas si soudain où l'on ne *puisse* . . . (Comm., II, 217); celluy qui . . . ne *iugeroit* que en vous il y *ayt* une telle malice (Marg., III, 11); Me *sçauroit*-on nier, que ce que ie dis ne *soit* vray? (Paliss., 93; also 48, 155, 172, 174); *feriez*-vous si mauvais jugement de sa prudence qu'il ne *sache* assez que . . . (Vair, 140); nous ne *croirions* jamais que le contraire *soit* party de sa libre volonté (*id.*, 166).

This sequence is exceptional in our authors, while the imperfect subjunctive after the present conditional, is the general rule. At the same time, occasional examples show how far it is from displacement by the present subjunctive:

il y *a* bien peu d'hommes qui *voulussent* croire que l'eau . . ., estant . . . poussée par les vents . . . se resserrera (Paliss., 145).

Résumé

21. In adjectival clauses of purpose, or modifying an indefinite, negative, interrogative, or conditional antecedent, the indicative,

[14] Ferdinand Brunot, *La Pensée et la langue*, Paris, 1922; p. 517. M. Brunot indicates also (*Histoire de la Langue Française*, Paris, 1906; III, 1) that the existing number of studies of sixteenth century texts, was insufficient for compiling a satisfactory history.

future, and conditional are exceptional, the subjunctive employed with conditional force is somewhat less exceptional, and the subjunctive is the ordinary usage.

In adjectival clauses after superlatives, usage is erratic. The subjunctive occurs slightly more often than the indicative, and has not become the established usage, at the close of our period. The clause with the subjunctive appears to modify an indefinite or hypothetical antecedent induced in comparison, rather than the apparent antecedent. Through this analogy with the ordinary adjectival clause, the subjunctive is to become a more generalized usage.

In correspondent relative clauses, mood usage tends to be identical with mood usage in the clause introduced by the conjunction *que*.

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BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

HAYWARD UND KEIN ENDE

In a recent paper[1] Dr. Ray Heffner remarks that I have "overlooked the true meaning" of Hayward's "law Divine and the law of Nature." A discussion therefore is in order.

Under cross-examination, Dr. Hayward (according to the *Calendar of State Papers,* Dr. Heffner's authority) said:

> As for the words spoken by King Richard II., that princes must not rule without limitation . . .; did not intend it to be taken generally, but that princes were to be limited by the law Divine and the law of Nature only; had this from a book written three years since, but cannot remember the author.[2]

Dr. Heffner concludes:

> He (i.e. Hayward) refers in the last part only to the opinion that princes are "limited by the law Divine and the law of Nature." This idea could have been found in the works of Bodin or various other writers; but it is philosophical and not historical in nature. It is extremely unlikely, then, that Hayward was referring to any of Shakespeare's works, and in making this point Mr. Kuhl has overlooked the true meaning of the statement.

Unfortunately Dr. Heffner is in error when he speaks of the "idea" being "philosophical and not historical in nature." In La Primaudaye's *The French Academie,*[3] for example, we read:

> Surely philosophie is the mother and continuall spring of all good knowledge. For she teacheth us to knowe good and euill; she prouoketh us by the uprightnes of reason to flie this thing, & to do that, causing us to liue as wise and prudent men, ioyfull and contented in euery estate, whereupon ariseth the sound rest of the spirit. Moreouer, the excellencie of this knowledge (as *Plato* saith) is so great, that it is *but one and the same thing to be a king, a gouernor of a Common-wealth and a philosopher; bicause the roiall, Ciuill, and philosophicall arts are compounded of the same matter, namelie, of iustice and prudence.* . . by philosophie we are taught that perfection, which concerneth all the actions and dealings of men, euen from those who are placed in the gouernment of monarchies, kingdomes, commonwealths, cities, and nations, vnto the lest that liueth vnder them. For she teacheth the one sort how to command well, and the other to obey well . . .[4]

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[1] "Shakespeare, Hayward and Essex," *PMLA.,* XLV (1930), 754ff., especially 766f.

[2] *Cal. State Papers,* 1598-1601, 540. Though Dr. Heffner gives no reference, I assume this is it.

[3] Page 39 (1586). Italics mine.

[4] Page 43. Of course I do not wish to imply that this work was Hayward's source. The idea was too common to warrant such an assumption. Cf., *passium, PQ.,* X (April, 1931), 189ff. It is perhaps fair to say that I am not necessarily in agreement with the rest of Dr. Heffner's paper.

Again:

The significance of the allusion to Plato must not be lost sight of, nor the fact that La Primaudaye passed through five editions between 1586 and 1614.

Equally important is the fact that the document itself, from which Dr. Heffner quotes, is specific on this point. *A priori,* of course, one should expect the cross-examiners of an author of a suspicious historical work to be more interested (at least for the nonce) in history than in philosophy. Such an assumption is clearly supported by what the examiners said, as well as by Howard's[5] reply. My citation is from the original in the Public Record Office.

[5] Transcription by Miss Nellie O'Farrell of London, to whom I am greatly indebted.

And for the wordes spoken by King R. 2 that princes must not rule without limitation he affirmeth that to be a true opinion and so it be rightlie understood and that he intended that the same was not to be taken generally but that princes were to be limited by the lawe divine & that the laws of nature onlie and *being demaunded* where he had the same sath that it is about 3 yeres since the booke was written & cannot remember out of what Auther he tooke it. But saith he fynd it in a bo . . . . & in the *body of the civill lawe* &c.

The italicized parts leave no doubt on the question of history and philosophy. Dr. Heffner therefore has based his refutation of my argument upon (a) a lack of knowledge of 16th century thought, and (b) upon a printed summary from which important statements are missing.

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BIRON AND THE 116TH SONNET

R. M. Alden cites a passage from one of Biron's speeches in *Love's Labour's Lost* (I, i, 88-91) as analogous to certain lines in the 116th sonnet.[1] The passages are certainly similar enough to convince the casual observer that the same poet penned the two. But the passage cited by Alden is not the only one in which Biron speaks as if from the sonnet in question.

The style, as well as the words, of the following passage is indeed reminiscent of the famous sonnet, the first line of Biron's speech and the last line of the sonnet being especially similar. There is an unmistakable ring in the two, the passage in *Love's*

[1] Alden, R. M., *The Sonnets of Shakespeare,* Boston and New York, 1916, p. 274.

Labour's Lost and the sonnet, as if they were the same series of notes run into different melodies. And they are: the one is on beauty; the other on love:

King. What zeal, what fury hoth inspired thee now?
My *love,* her mistress, is a gracious moon;
(9) She an attending *star,* scarce seen a light.
(1) *Biron.* My eyes are then *no* eyes, *nor* I Biron.
O, but for my *love,* day would turn to night!
Of all complexions the cull'd sovereignty
(2) Do meet, as at a fair, in her fair *cheek,*
(2) Where several worthies make one dignity,
(2) Where nothing wants that want itself doth seek.
(4) Lend *me* the flourish of all gentle tongues,—
(5) Fie, painted rhetoric! O, she needs it not.
To things of sale a seller's praise belongs,
She passes praise; then praise too short doth blot.
(6) A wither'd hermit, five-score winters worn,
(6) Might *shake* off fifty, *looking in* her eye:
(7) Beauty doth varnish age, as if new-born,
(7) And gives the crutch the cradle's infancy.
(5) O, *'t is the* sun that maketh all things shine.
King. By heaven, thy *love* is black as ebony.
Biron. Is ebony like her? O wood divine!
A wife of such wood were felicity.
O, who can give an oath? Where is a book?
(8) That I may swear beauty doth beauty lack,
If that she learn not of her eye to *look*:
(*LLL,* IV, iii, 229ff.)[2]

The sonnet runs thus:

(4) Let me not to the marriage of true mindes
(8) Admit impediments, *loue* is not *loue*
(2) Which alters when it alteration findes,
(2) Or bends with the remouer to remoue
(5) O no, *it is* an euer fixed marke
(6) That *looks on* tempests and is neuer *shaken*;
(5) (9) *It is the star to* euery wandering barke
Whose worths vnknown, although his higth be taken.
(6) *Lou's* not Times foole, though rosie lips and *cheeks*
(6) Within his bending sickles compasse come,
(7) *Loue* alters not with his breefe houres and weekes,
(7) But beares it out euen to the edge of doome:
If this be error and vpon me proued,
(1) I neuer writ, *nor no* man euer loued.[3]

In addition to stylistic and verbal similarity between the two, Biron's speech in the former is virtually a sonnet. It is fifteen lines long, with alternating rhyme scheme; and the development

[2] *The Student's Cambridge Shakespeare,* p. 18.

[3] Alden, p. 273. I have italicized identical words and numbered like lines identically.

of the idea of the passage is not unlike the thought development of Shakespeare's sonnet generally.

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MILTON'S DEMOGORGON

In describing Chaos, his habitation, and his companions, Milton says:

> . . . and by them stood
> Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
> Of Demogorgon; . . .[1]

Miss Hartwell's recent study, *Lactantius and Milton,* has revived interest in Milton's Demogorgon, for which scholars of Milton's works have pointed out various sources. Early editors suggested Lactantius, the Scholiast of Statius, on *Thebaid.* IV, 516. Later editors, notably Masson, Verity, and Chambers, have erroneously pointed to the Christian Father, Lactantius, rather than to the Scholiast, as a source.[2] Besides the Lactantiuses, moreover, Boccaccio,[3] Spenser,[4] Lucan,[5] and Ariosto[6] have been indicated as sources of Milton's "dreaded name."

Since none of these suggested sources of Milton's Demogorgon seems to stand as a direct source, the suggestion of an additional, if perhaps less plausible, source is not heresy. The purpose of this note, therefore, is to point out a hitherto unnoted use of Demogorgon in *Locrine,* one of the plays among the Shakespeare apocrypha.[7]

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[1] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* II, 963-65.

[2] Kathleen Ellen Hartwell, *Lactantius and Milton,* 65-67. *Milton: Paradise Lost, Book* II, ed. E. K. Chambers, 110.

[3] *The Poetical Works of John Milton,* ed. David Masson, III, 343.

[4] *Idem* suggests *Faerie Queene,* I, v, 22, and IV, ii, 47. Chambers, *loc. cit.,* suggests *Faerie Queene,* I, i, 37.

[5] Chambers, *loc. Cit.,* suggests *Pharsalia,* vi, 744.

[6] *The Student's Milton,* ed. Frank Allen Patterson, glossary, 20.

[7] Since the pedantic clown, Strumbo, when he wishes to lament his unrequited love, says (*Locrine,* I, ii, 5-6): "As Lactantius in his fourth book of Constultations doth say," the unknown author of *Locrine* may have known Demogorgon directly from Lactantius, the Scholiast of Statius, on *Thebaid.* IV.

Another unnoted use of Demogorgon, which Milton may have known, occurs in Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist,* II, i, 104. The passage is as follows:

> Both this, th' Hesperian garden, Cadmus' story,
> Jove's shower, the boon of Midas, Argus' eyes,
> Boccace his Demogorgon, thousands more,
> All abstract riddles of our stone. (II, i, 102-105.)

(The attributing of Demogorgon to Boccaccio suggests Jonson's source of the name.)

Near the beginning of the play, in lamenting the approaching death of his father, Locrine says:

> Accursed stars, damn'd and accursed stars,
> To abbreviate my noble father's life!
> Hard-hearted gods, and too, envious fates,
> Thus to cut off my father's fatal thread!
> Brutus, that was a glory to us all,
> Brutus, that was a terror to his foes,
> Alas! too soon by Demogorgon's knife
> The martial Brutus is bereft of life:
> No sad complaints may move just Aeacus.[8]

Although Milton's version of the facts connected with the life of Locrine[9] differs somewhat from the play of *Locrine*, it seems likely he knew this play. *Locrine*, attributed to Shakespeare by the editor of the folio in 1664, was first published in 1595.[10] Milton's intellectual avidity and his interest in legendary British history probably led to his knowledge of the play. There is, in fact, internal evidence in *Paradise Lost* to show his acquaintance with it. For, as George Steevens suggests, at least three figures in *Paradise Lost* bear striking resemblance to three figure in *Locrine*.[11] The fact that Milton knew the play becomes, the.., a

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[8] *Locrine*, in *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays*, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, vol. II, I, i, 228-36. Demogorgon, who in *Paradise Lost* is but a "dreaded name" coupled with two names of Pluto, assumes in this passage of *Locrine* somewhat of the character of Atropos and suggests the Demogorgon of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (IV, ii, 47), with whom the three Fatal Sisters are said to dwell.

[9] *The History of Britain*, in *The Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. V, I, 173-74.

[10] *Locrine, loc. cit.*, 189-90 n.

[11] *Ibid.* The three striking parallels suggested by Steevens are as follows:
1. *Cloudy-chair* figure.
Paradise Lost, II, 929-30: (Satan begins his flight from Hell)
. . . thence many a league
As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides
Locrine, V, iv, 9:
When hellish night in cloudy chariot seated
2. *Mantle* figure.
Paradise Lost, IV, 606-09:
. . . till the moon
Rising in clouded Majestie, at length
Apparent Queen unvaild her peerless light,
And o're the dark her Silver Mantle threw.
Locrine, V, iv, 9-11:
When hellish night in cloudy chariot seated,
Casteth her mists on shady Tellus' face,
With sable mantles covering all the earth
3. *Impending-Death* figure.
Paradise Lost, XI, 491-92:
And over them triumphant Death his Dart

strong probability, and *Locrine* may be one source of Milton's Demogorgon.

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A POSSIBLE ETYMOLOGY FOR ENGLISH *NINCOMPOOP*

The editors of the *N.E.D.* say of *Nincompoop*: "Of obscure origin; probably only a fanciful formation. Johnston's suggestion of *non compos* does not agree with the earliest forms. A fool, blockhead, simpleton, ninny." The earliest forms of the word in English are *Nicompoop* (1676), *Nickumpoop* (1685), and the earliest example of the form with the intrusive *n* before the *c* is much later, in 1706. I agree that Dr. Johnson's etymology (still used, by the way, in many of our current dictionaries) is quite untenable; but I do not think, on the other hand, that it is necessary to attribute to it a "fanciful formation."

Discarding the later form which presents a peculiar difficulty, I propose as the etymology for *Nicompoop* the French *nic à poux*, of which I have been able to find only a single example: "O miserable que ie suis, helas! il ne me print iamais volonté faire cela. Toutefois ce *nic à poux*, ce capitaine cassé, & sans soldats, me menasse, etc." This quotation is from Larivey's *Les Jaloux*, 1579 (Act I, scene 4). It is impossible to tell with any degree of accuracy what the word means from this single example, and I have been unable to find it in any dictionary. Nor is a great deal of light to be had from the Italian play of which this is an adaptation. The corresponding passage reads: "O misera me, se io havessi pur in animo di fare tale cosa. Va in male hora Capitan magro, & fallito" (*I Gelosi*, V. Gabiani).

Despite the impossibility of defining it exactly, it is obvious that the word is one of derision and probably falls into that numerous

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Shook, but delaid to strike, . . .

Locrine, I, i, 9-11:

Black ugly Death with visage pale and wan
Presents himself before my dazled eyes,
And with his dart prepared is to strike.

Also see: (*ibid.*) 262 n., which indicates the similarity between the Sabren of *Locrine* and the Sabrina of *Comus*; 219 n., which points a parallel between "chequer'd grass" (*Locrine*, II, v, 52), "chequer'd shadow" (*Titus Andronicus*, I, i, 109) and "chequer'd shade" (*L'Allegro*, 96); 208 n., which suggests a likeness between the allusion to Asiatic hordes in *Paradise Regained* (III, 310, 337-39) and in *Locrine* (II, i, 72-74).

group of French words in *niche, nique* and *nig* which may derive from Germanic *Nicken* or, as Tilander says, from Latin *Nidus.*[1] The *à poux* is an easily understood appendage.

It is difficult to say whether there is any change of meaning from the French to the English here, but if there is, it is of no consequence. The *nic* comes over without any change. The change of the *à* to an indistinct nasal is very common: *messager>messenger, papegay>popinjay,* and there are many others. The form of the nasal, *um* or *om,* may be explained by the following *p,* which would attract an *m* rather than an *n,* and with such labial consonants following it, an obscure vowel would most likely result in a back vowel. The final *p* was probably added to give the word force or by analogy with the English word *poop.* The word was probably much used in England before it found its way into literature, and as an ending in *poux* was most unfamiliar to English ears, the commonest word sounding like it, that is *poop,* was substituted.

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THE RELATION OF TUDOR HALLS TO ELIZABETHAN PUBLIC THEATERS

Frequent references in interludes of the sixteenth century[1] indicate that they were performed in the great hall; indeed all Tudor interludes and plays in the residences of the nobility were regularly performed in the hall, always the most commodious room of the Tudors, and usually the only room in which company could be entertained. This Tudor hall varied little in shape and form; though the Elizabethan hall was affected by Renaissance ornament and decoration, it remained structurally the same as that of the early Tudor period, a form molded by centuries. The average Tudor hall was, then, an oblong room, the floor strewn with rushes, tapestries between the windows in the side walls, a high hammer-beam roof,

[1] G. Tilander, "Notes D'Étymologie Française," *Romania,* 52 (1926), pp. 471-476. M. Tilander considers the etymologies proposed by the *Dict. Général,* Körting, Diez, Meyer-Lübke, and Littré. His numerous examples and his argument for his own etymology are most convincing. Especially relevant to my subject is the example: Nic-à-rats "mauvaise habitation" (du Bois). *Nic* here certainly appears to be *Nid.* My word then would mean a nest of lice, then a lousy fellow.

[1] *Fulgens and Lucres, Nature, Impatient Poverty, All for Money, Sir Thomas More,* among others.

and at one end a carved 'screen' with two doors in it and with a balcony above it.[2]

If one can picture this hall set for a later sixteenth century interlude, certain remarkable resemblances to our notions of an Elizabethan theater will be clear. The screen, the two doors in the screen, and the balcony above and behind, all seem to have strict counterparts in the Elizabethan theater. Hang a curtain some distance out from the screen and one has an inner stage. The whole seems capable of and suitable for producing any sixteenth century play.

At present the generally accepted theory is that the innyard was the only immediate predecessor of and influence upon the first Elizabethan playhouse, Burbage's *Theater*. Harold Child, in *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* VI, 284, summarizes some of the leading theories concerning the origins of the Elizabethan stage, and in attempting to reconcile them concludes that the innyard was the only immediate predecessor of it. There have been only two notable dissenters from this conclusion, and their arguments have not received much attention.[3]

One question that if answered clears the air considerably is this: from what previous theatrical experience did Burbage draw up his plans for the *Theater*? The leader of Leicester's company, he travelled with it all over the country, usually, we find, playing in town halls. In fact there is ample evidence that Burbage and others preferred town halls as theaters when barnstorming in the provinces.[4] These town halls were precisely the same as the halls of the noblemen in which Leicester's company also played. Thus it

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[2] There are many extant examples of the Tudor hall. Plans and pictures of the great hall at Lambeth Palace, where *Nature* and *Fulgens and Lucres* were produced, may be found in J. Cave-Browne, *Lambeth Palace*, p. 58, and J. Nichols, *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, II, 76. Clear sketches of halls in the Tudor period are contained in M. and C. H. B. Quennell *History of Everyday Things in England*, I and II.

[3] T. S. Graves, *Court and London Theater During the Reign of Elizabeth*, argued convincingly and at length against the innyard influence, though he failed, I think, to be impressive in his positive comments on the influence of the Court.

W. Y. Durand, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 526. His discussion is insufficient; he deduces, solely from Bereblock's 1566 account, the origin of Elizabethan theater galleries in the tiers for spectators in a great hall, also attempting to derive the circular shape of the Elizabethan theater from the arrangement of these tiers.

[4] T. S. Graves, *op cit.*, 37-39. J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, II, 42, 234, 303-328.

is certain that Burbage was at least as well acquainted with the great halls as with the inns and innyards. What, then, could be more natural than that Burbage in building the *Theater*—and thus setting the style for following Elizabethan theaters—should model it not only on innyard conditions but on the great hall as well, keeping those elements common to them both, but fully cognizant of the superiority of the hall stage? In other words, continuity here demands, not a direct descent from the innyard, but the combined influence of innyard and hall.

This interpretation of the influence of the great hall sheds light upon the structure of the Elizabethan theater from still another angle. In the summer of 1596 Johannes DeWitt, a Dutchman, visited London and made the rounds of the theaters. He, from his account, was impressed most by the *Swan* theater, built a few years before, and apparently made a sketch of its interior. His friend Van Buchell later copied both the description and the sketch, in which form they were discovered in 1888.[5] The sketch is by far the best picture we have of the interior of a public theater, and is therefore the most important piece of actual evidence in this perplexing problem. It has been discredited by most scholars because of apparent positive mistakes and omissions. The two doors in the rear of the stage of the DeWitt sketch have been questioned. So also has the position of the balcony above and behind the inner stage, over the tiring-house. The general opinion has been that the doors are misplaced and that the balcony should project out over the inner stage.[6] But a comparison of this with conditions in the great hall—the relation of screen and doors and balcony—shows pretty definitely that DeWitt did not err here. I submit, therefore, that this much is changed or settled by revaluating the sketch in relation to the great hall: (1) The two doors at the rear of the inner stage certainly existed and are accurately placed. Two other doors giving direct access to the outer stage are of course necessary to any Elizabethan stage, as Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater,* p.

[5] See reproductions of the sketch in *Transactions New Shakes. Soc.,* Series I, Part II (1888), p. 214, or A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater,* p. 51, or J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses,* p. 169.

[6] The question of the use of the inner stage and the curtain is as yet unanswered. G. F. Reynolds, *Mod. Phil.,* IX (1911-12), 1 ff., concludes that at least some of the Elizabethan theaters had no curtains; it is obvious that the inner stage cannot exist without curtains.

85, shows. (2) The upper stage—that is, the balcony—did exist at the *Swan* in the position which DeWitt indicates.

Strengthened by these two facts, we may go on to suggest that the Swan Theater was not—as so many scholars, disappointed in the sketch, have argued—atypical. Before 1594 Francis Langley, goldsmith and citizen of London, attracted by the reputed financial success of the *Theater,* the *Curtain,* and the *Rose,* built the *Swan.* J. Q. Adams, who has investigated the history of the *Swan,*[7] states that Langley erected a building similar to those of Burbage and Henslowe. Similar to them it must have been; one cannot imagine that a goldsmith who knew nothing of stagecraft and who was anxious for financial success would attempt startling innovations; rather, one would suppose a slavish imitation of existing theaters. Thus our conclusions regarding the interior of the *Swan* apply equally well to other theaters of the time, that is, to all public theaters preceding the *Globe* (1599).

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[7] *Shakespearean Playhouses,* p. 161 ff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Abraham Cowley, The Muse's Hannibal, by Arthur H. Nethercot. Oxford University Press, 1931. 367 pp.

The descriptive phrases aptly culled by Mr. Nethercot from three of Cowley's poems and used, one as the sub-title of the book itself and all as headings for three of its chapters, rather neatly characterize the essential periods of the poet's career. "The Muse's Hannibal" from the "Motto" half discloses the boy at home bent over his mother's folio of Spenser, or the young literary practitioner at Westminster School, or the undergraduate at Cambridge entertaining the university with his plays. Possibly Milton had him in mind when he spoke regretfully of his own late spring. The call to fame then rang in Cowley's ears like a trumpet. As a literary Hannibal, if you please, he forced his way, the first in England in the Biblical epic, the loosely organized Pindaric odes, and the familiar essay. The second phrase, "Love's Columbus" from "The Prophet," brings us to the author of *The Mistress,* the aspiring but somewhat unimpassioned love-poet of the exiled court. The third phrase, "The melancholy Cowley" from "The Complaint," suggests the ill-starred political adventurer and the poorly, or at least tardily, rewarded adherent to the King's cause.

That the greater portion of the book deals with biographical fact should not blind the reader to the author's interpretation of the poems themselves. The significance of many individual pieces is explained for the first time, and some of the longer poems, such as the *Davideis,* the *Naufragium Joculare,* and the Pindaric odes, are well treated. Interesting evidence, for example, is presented that places the inception of the Pindaric odes on the island of Jersey. Cowley's unrealised possibilities, also, as a playwright are suggested. Yet the author, who has handled some of the literary problems more fully elsewhere, wisely refrains from overestimating the real merit of Cowley's productions. The place that he once held in the great assembly of poets can never be regained.

The most interesting portion of the biography deals with Cowley's experiences during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration. Early in 1644 Cowley left Cambridge as a result of Puritan reforms and went to the royalist stronghold at Oxford, as did Thomas Fuller and others. Soon, however, Cowley joined Queen Henrietta Maria in Paris, where he served as a dispatcher of official letters in cipher. One such letter, to Lord Culpepper in 1646, having to do with the King's negotiations with the Scots, is reprinted for the first time by Mr. Nethercot from the Clarendon State Papers. Later Cowley went to Jersey to bring Prince Charles to Paris, and there probably began the Pindarics. He returned to England in the summer of 1654, slipped over to Paris again on

some secret mission, and then came back to London. The author gives as evidence for all this hitherto unknown fact two passports found among the Rawlinson manuscripts. In 1655 Cowley was arrested by Cromwell's officers and imprisoned. From that time, apparently, he made open advances to the Lord Protector, while he still served as a royalist spy. Unfortunately, he was distrusted by both parties, and never quite satisfied Charles II of his wholehearted loyalty; for the inadvertent remarks in the Preface of 1656 were not to be forgotten. Yet the old queen amply, though it seemed to him somewhat tardily, rewarded her servant in 1662 with the grant of the Manor of Oldcourt. We need not follow the story further; it is all interesting and much of it we have not known before.

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Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, utgitt av Carl J. S. Marstrander, et al., Bind IV, Oslo, 1930. Kr. 12.00

The recently launched Norwegian journal of linguistics under the editorship of Professor Marstrander has not received so much attention in this country as it deserves. Until the appearance of the first volume in 1928, Norway had been for many years without any organ devoted to linguistic research except for the small and shortlived *Madaelelser fra Norsk Forensing for Sprogvidenskap*, largely devoted to reviews, now absorbed by the larger journal. The issues to date fully justify the venture. It may be unjust to say that the journal has increased and rejuvenated linguistic research, for Norwegian scholars have in recent years been very productive; but it has furnished an added stimulus in that it supplies an organ that reaches promptly a larger public than did the sporadic monograph of past years.

The character of the journal is strongly marked by the special interests of the editorial staff, nine in all, who to date are the main contributors. Of peculiar interest are the runological studies by the editor in chief, Professor Marstrander, beginning with a boldly speculative and revolutionary article on runic origins, in volume one, and followed by a series of special articles on individual inscriptions, the most important of which is one, in volume four, offering a new interpretation of the Tune stone. Throughout the volumes the methodology of the modern French school is strongly felt, with its stress on evolutionary phonetics and its psycho-sociological approach to language. This is particularly marked in the contributions of Dr. Alf Sommerfelt to Celtic and Norwegian and of Professor Seip to Norwegian phonology.

The editors reveal a sense of the practical in making the volume usable. The traditional issue in parts is abandoned in favor of the complete volume (usually annual, though 1929 brought two volumes); the leading articles are written in French, German, or English, or are followed by summaries in one of these languages; each volume is supplied with a complete *index verborum* which facilitates greatly the use for ready reference; a great deal of space is devoted to reviews ranging from extensive critical studies to brief citations; and finally the volumes are well printed on excellent paper and offered at an unusually low price.

H. L.

Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz, Presented by a Group of his Pupils and Friends on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday, Feb. 4, 1930. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1930.

It is not always the case that in a congratulatory volume of this type the most impressive feature is the biography of the one honored and bibliographical list of his works. But these two initial chapters of the present book serve to emphasize the fact that in Hermann Collitz America is indebted to Germany for one of the great philologists of his generation.

Of the 30 contributions of "pupils and friends" attention may be called to the following:

E. H. Sturtevant dates the tendency found in various Indo-European languages to employ a neuter pronoun referring collectively to words of other genders as not only Indo-European, but by comparison with Hittite usage as Pre-Indo-European.

F. Edgerton points out some of the uses to which the corpus of "Vedic Variants" prepared by M. Bloomfield and himself may be put in the way of suggesting or confirming points in dialect phonetics.

E. Prokosch under the title "The Germanic Vowel Shift and the Origin of Mutation" defends the traditional conception of the "vowel triangle" against the attacks of Russell and combats Collitz's conception of the essential identity of the Gothic vowel-system with that of primitive Germanic, in both cases convincingly, and tries to establish principles of vocalic "drift" or natural direction of shift of vowel-sounds in the Germanic languages.

L. Bloomfield discusses at length the origin of the word *litus* of the Salic Law.

A scholarly and important contribution is that of S. H. Cross entitled "Scandinavian-Polish Relations in the Late Tenth Century." In the lack of Polish historical sources the often conflicting statements found in Old Norse writings are subjected to a sharp and salutary criticism.

Under the title "Blotnaut" C. N. Gould brings together and interprets the various Old Norse references to the worship of cattle, superstitions connected with them, or their use in religious rites.

E. E. Ericson investigates the "Use of Old English *swa* in Negative Clauses."

S. Kroesch illustrates his idea of "Change of Meaning by Analogy" as an important, but neglected element in semantics by the meanings developed in German, from OHG down, of the words *List* and *Kunst* as compared with the Latin *ars.*

R. J. Kellogg discusses in instructive detail the MHS "clipt preterits" *gie, fie* and *lie,* supplementing previous papers by Collitz on the same subject.

Two significant articles on Lessing, somewhat antithetical in general tendency, follow one upon the other. The first, by W. S. Howard, is a fine appreciation, built up particularly on "Minna von Barnhelm." The other, by A. W. Porterfield, seeks, and finds, repetition playing a disproportionate rôle in Lessing's works. With all gratitude for the service here rendered to objective scholarship one cannot easily escape an unpleasant impression that Lessing is being

undeservedly belittled, that the current "debunking" school of biography has enrolled another pupil.

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Samuel Richardson, Imprimeur de Londres, by Paul Dottin. Perrin et Cie., Paris, 1931. xx+521 pp.

Professor Dottin is already well known as a satirist, as a literary critic and as a scientific scholar; and , in this latest work, he appears at once as all three. *Samuel Richardson* is a critical biography based on new manuscript material as well as our earlier knowledge of the subject and of his age. Dottin shows in Richardson the contemporary development of the bourgeoisie from Calvinism into moralistic Sentimentalism, and presents the novels as documents of sentimental psychology phrased in terms of *soi-disant* Christianity. At Pamela's success, we are assured, "les chérubins sont là, en haut, et soufflent à se faire craquer les joues. . . . La prison est devenue le palais: le maître tyrannique est devenu le tendre mari. La virginité de Pamela est payée au prix maximum. La Vertu a été recompensée." This sentimentalism, though phrased in literary traditions such as Steele's essays and bourgeois drama was not the result of mere literary influence: Dottin shows its developing from Richardson's home, his religion and his early training. In working out these social interpretations of literature, French scholarship has particularly excelled; and this approach is particularly significant in treating of a society, like that of eighteenth century England, in which strongly marked class-distinctions determined the education, the opportunities, and the consequent outlook of most individuals.

The style of course is brilliant; and Dottin's easy translation into French verse of contemporary poetic tributes to Richardson constitutes a *tour de force* that only a French scholar could succeed in. The life of Richardson, moreover, is indeed meat for the Gallic salt of his biographer; and one suspects irony even in the echoing refrain of the introduction: "Réhabilitons Richardson." Surely this "rehabilitation" hardly improves one's opinion of the novelist: his psychology appears as unconscious and accidental; his petty piety, like Pamela's, seems to have had one eye on the main chance; and his glorification of virtue shines with the tinsel of causistry. And so Dottin, drawing his frailties from their dread abode, shows us the printer-novelist, the representative of his class and age, and in a larger sense the apostle of Pan-European sentimentalism, in a period when the point of view of his social class was emerging to a general predominance, and when thousands of his readers, finding their own outlook coincident with his because of a parallel social development, praised him to heaven for every virtue that they deemed themselves worthy to possess.

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